Periodical

SEPTEMBER, 1934

THE CRISIS

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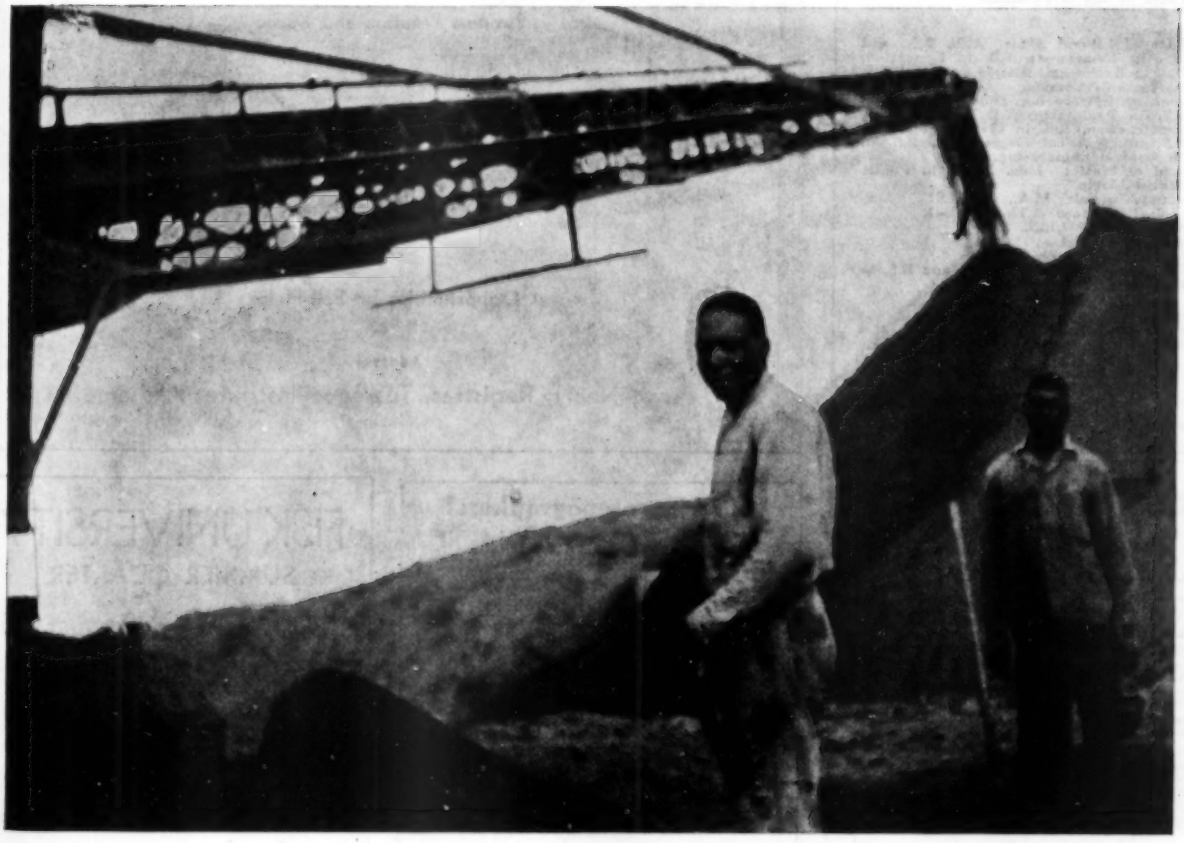

Working On The Levee

(But not for ten cents an hour—see page 255)

BOYCOTTS TO GET JOBS?

George S. Schuyler vs. Vere E. Johns

NEGRO WORKERS AND THE NRA

By Gustav Peck

LIBERIAN NATIVES TELL THEIR STORY

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Volume 41, No. 9 *Whole No. 286*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted.*

NEXT MONTH

H. L. Mencken has a thought-provoking article called "Notes on Negro Strategy" in THE CRISIS for October.

●

John P. Davis will have an answer to Dr. Gustav Peck's article in this issue on Negro Workers and the NRA. Mr. Davis and Charles H. Houston will be co-authors of a piece on the TVA and its effects on Negroes in the Tennessee Valley.

●

In the section devoted to children, Josephine Schuyler, who believes firmly in raw diets, will have something to say about child feeding; L. Herbert Henegan will outline health work in Kansas City, Mo., with special attention to well baby clinics. There is still time to send in clear pictures of children—until September 1.

●

A short, illustrated feature story on Chicago's famous "Watermelon Man" will be done by P. L. Prattis; and Roy Wilkins will have an article on Richmond Barthe, the imaginative young sculptor.

●

W. Rollo Wilson, one of the leading sports writers in the country, will do a piece called "They Could Be World Champions," sketching the careers of Negro baseball stars who could have played in the World Series but for their color.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

George S. Schuyler is well known for his column in the Pittsburgh Courier, for his articles in the magazines, and for his two novels, "Slaves Today," and "Black No More." The rest of the contributors are described in notes over their respective articles.

●

THE COVER

When Helen Boardman, an investigator for the N.A.A.C.P., visited contractors' labor camps on the Mississippi Flood Control Project in the summer of 1932 she found 30,000 Negro workers receiving an average wage of ten cents an hour for a 84-hour week. Today, after continual pressure by the N.A.A.C.P. upon the government, these workers are receiving, under the P.W.A., a wage of forty cents an hour for a 30-hour week. Where they used to have pay days as far apart as four months, they are now paid weekly. The cover picture was taken in July at one of the levee construction camps in the Memphis, Tenn., area.

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"A few days ago, in Germany, events occurred which . . . made me . . . physically sick."
—General Hugh S. Johnson's speech at Waterloo, Ia., July 12

To Boycott or—

A. We Must Have Jobs

By Vere E. Johns

Following long after Chicago, Baltimore, Washington and Toledo, Harlem's huge population at last seems stirred by a campaign to "spend our money where we can work." One of the leaders in the effort has been Mr. Johns, columnist and staff writer of the New York Age, who gives here some of the details of the movement

THE self-respecting citizens of Harlem have just won a decisive industrial victory that cannot be omitted from the annals of Negro history when the year 1934 is written up. Chafing under a depressed condition, made far more acute by reason of the economic bonds placed on them by the majority of the business concerns of Harlem, they decided to do something about it. Choosing as their leader, the Rev. John H. Johnson, Vicar of St. Martin's P. E. Chapel, a courageous young cleric, they formed themselves into a committee and courteously approached the owner of the L. N. Blumstein department store in West 125th street, the largest of its kind in Harlem. They carried as ammunition some $7,000 in sales checks collected from Blumstein's Negro customers over a short period.

They put forward their plea for a fair representation in a place where they spent their money. Blumstein listened, admitted that 75 per cent of his trade came from the colored people of Harlem, confessed to having a few Negroes in menial jobs, but brushed aside the idea of hiring colored sales help. Incidentally, one of his menial workers happened to be a college man with an arts degree.

The committee found themselves in a tight corner. They knew that Blumstein had thrown down a challenge to them and they either had to meet it or retire in disgrace. It was a case of fight or crawl away like whipped curs. They were convinced that their cause was a just one and so the mandate was given —FIGHT!

Life or Death

The die was cast, the battle was on, and the committee knew that it was going to be a fight to the finish, a conflict in which no quarter could be given and to retreat was to die. Using St. Martin's Church Hall as their headquarters they called themselves the Citizen's League for Fairplay, appointed officers and got down to real work. The program was to exert mass pressure on Blumstein's store in a decent, upright manner, but to leave no stone unturned to cut off the patronage that they were receiving from the Negroes of Harlem. They decided on and placed pickets (two at a time) in front of the store, all volunteers, whose signs read "Self respecting citizens of Harlem are asked to stay out of this store. They refuse to employ Negroes as clerks now."

They unleashed an avalanche of leaflets appealing to the people to "stay out of Blumstein's", they flooded the avenues and streets with orators who harangued and urged the masses to "stay out of Blumstein's"; the *New York Age* definitely committed itself to support the fight, and in editorials, feature stories and columns they urged their readers to "stay out of Blumstein's;" a house to house committee got under way, calling on housewives and asking them to "stay out of Blumstein's", all manner of organizations, clubs and associations joined in and agreed to sink their identity and accept the intelligent leadership of the League, so that they could do their part in getting Negroes to "stay out of Blumstein's;" churches came under the banner of the League and their pastors thundered from the pulpit exhorting their congregations to "stay out of Blumstein's;" enthusiastic Monday night meetings were held and numerous speakers whipped the enthusiasm to fever heat as they called on the throngs present to go out and tell all and sundry to "stay out of Blumstein's."

Never before in the history of Harlem was such united action seen and it was not long before Blumstein's began to feel the pinch. The pickets opened the store in the morning and closed it at

(*Continued on page 274*)

Pickets Used by Toledo Branch in 1932

Not to Boycott?

B. A Deadly Boomerang

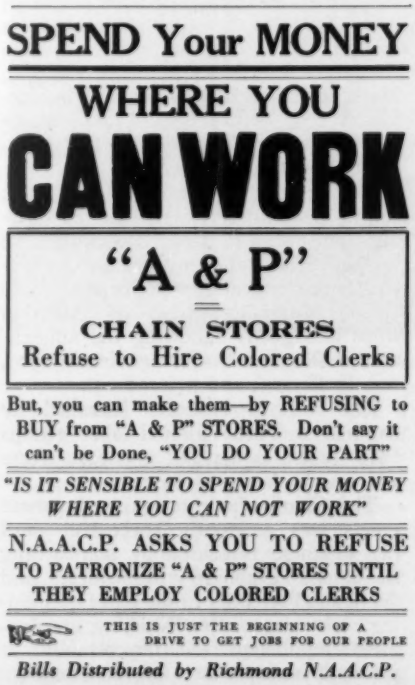
By George S. Schuyler

Mr. Schuyler contends that the boycott is too dangerous a weapon to be used in the campaign for jobs, especially by a minority as weak as the Negro American. He urges the adoption and perfection of consumers' cooperatives as a way out of the economic difficulties of the race

HUMANITY leaps periodically from one stupidity to another, and Afr-americans, alas, persist in thus demonstrating the essential oneness of mankind. With oafish enthusiasm we have pursued a procession of asininities to the accompaniment of much perspiration, tonsil-torturing, resolvings and dime-collecting, searching vainly for cure-all Utopias far from the realm of reason. Since the Armistice, the Ethiopian temperature has successively risen and fallen over Garveyism, Pan-Africa, Group Economy, Negro Culture, Liberia, the Pacific Movement, Communism and the New Deal. The latest mental affliction is the economic boycott. It is the worst of all.

As first conceived a decade ago, it was almost wholly educational, relying little upon forceful coercion and bereft of blatant ballyhoo. It said to Negroes, "Don't trade where you can't work", while appealing to white shopkeepers to hire colored workers especially where patronage was largely Negro. This "live and let live" campaign succeeded almost everywhere as evidenced by the changing complexion of clerical staffs in Negro districts since 1924 and by the generally increased diversity of Negro employment as revealed by the 1930 census. It hurt neither blacks nor whites. It succeeded with the growing confidence of white employers in the ability of Negro clerks and salesmen and the increasing willingness of Negro customers to be served by them, plus the normal neighborhood demand for work in the vicinity. It lost no jobs outside strictly Negro districts. As the vicissitudes of the depression became more marked with the disproportionate unemployment of Negroes, there arose the crackpot agitation for the use of forceful coercion, such as the picketing of specified business establishments. Beginning with the Chicago boycott campaign in 1929, it is today becoming accepted as the correct tactic to "make more jobs for our people." White merchants in black ghettoes must hire colored employees or suffer threatened loss of Negro patronage. Colored patrons of these white merchants must bow to the boycott or suffer social ostracism and physical violence. Negroes are now told "Don't trade at *Blank's* because he does not hire Negroes", which in many instances is tantamount to saying, "Don't trade at *Blank's* until he fires his white help and replaces them with Negoes". It is argued that this policy will appreciably lessen Negro unemployment and stop white bosses and workers from "carrying so much money out of our section".

Mouthy minorities in the black belts of Chicago, Washington, Richmond, Baltimore and New York, to name a few communities, have thus embarked upon a dangerous campaign of urging the substitution of black for white workers purely on a color basis without regard to either justice or fitness. This is the same type of rabid race chauvinism ballyhooed by Negrophobic white elements in the South and which Negroes continually and rightfully condemn. In only one city, Chicago, have these militant tactics been conspicuously successful, and there it is reported that more Negroes lost jobs *outside* the colored section than won jobs *inside* it. Baltimore's campaign has struck legal snags which presage what is in store. Washington and Richmond have made little headway. In Harlem these strong-arm tactics have been in use for a year or so, but the majority of stores there already had one or more Negro employees.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WHERE YOU
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CHAIN STORES
Refuse to Hire Colored Clerks
But, you can make them—by REFUSING to BUY from "A & P" STORES. Don't say it can't be Done, "YOU DO YOUR PART"
"IS IT SENSIBLE TO SPEND YOUR MONEY WHERE YOU CAN NOT WORK"
N.A.A.C.P. ASKS YOU TO REFUSE TO PATRONIZE "A & P" STORES UNTIL THEY EMPLOY COLORED CLERKS
THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING OF A DRIVE TO GET JOBS FOR OUR PEOPLE

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Not Prepared for War

This is plainly war. The Negro, characteristically enough, is unprepared for it. This fact should cause all but the noisiest numbskulls to pause and ponder, but unfortunately our boycott leaders are mainly of the type that confuses *mere* action with *wise* action; that imagines *any* tactic is *the* tactic; that mistakes pandemonium for progress. Effective economic wars inevitably invite reprisal and are naturally attended by casualties. An insistence upon employment on a racial basis alone will be re-echoed with avidity by jobless whites and professional Anglo-Saxons. The color bar in industry hits the Negro hard enough without him laboring to make worse his lot. With sixteen Negroes working outside the black belts to every one inside, the boycott ballyhooers are clearly asking us to cut off our heads to cure a cold.

These people justify the launching of a boycott against whites on the ground that the latter have in effect declared a boycott against Negroes. It must be admitted, however, that the alleged white boycott is not nearly so severe as it might be. If the white boycott has grown to its alleged proportions *without* a Negro counter-boycott, how much

faster will it grow *with* one? Again, if the Negro counter-boycott will lessen the effectiveness of the white one, why confine it to the black belts? Could it hope to succeed where Negro patronage is a negligible quantity? Since 93 out of every 100 Negro city workers are employed outside the colored sections, do they not occupy an extremely vulnerable position in an interracial economic war?

There were in 1929, 1,549,168 retail stores in the United States or 12.6 per 1000 population with an average of about 2.5 employees each, including the proprietors. The 15 cities having 50,000 or more Negroes are the communities where the Negro boycott obviously has the greatest chance of success. Their aggregate Negro population is 1,927,569 or 16.2 per cent of all Aframericans. With 12.6 stores per 1000 population there would thus be 24,288 stores in these Negro residential sections, ignoring the fact that businesses congregate in accordance with place utility and so are most numerous "downtown". With 2.5 employees per store, the total labor market in the 15 Negro districts is 60,720. It is necessary, however, to deduct the 5,741 Negro-owned stores with their 3576 full-time workers, which reduces the white-owned stores in black belts from 24,288 to 18,547, and the maximum labor replacement market from 60,720 to 57,144. Even these figures are too large, however, because many retail stores are largely staffed by the owners and their families. Then, too, large numbers, as we know, already employ one or more colored workers.

Of these 1,927,569 Negroes, at least 50 per cent or 963,785 are normally gainfully employed. With only 60,720 jobs possibly available in all retail stores, 903,065 or 93.7 per cent must seek employment *outside* the black ghettoes even if every black belt retail store be completely staffed with colored clerks. Even deducting 16,963 Negro professionals (16.2 per cent of the 104,711 total) we still have 887,402 Aframericans working where direct Negro patronage is a negligible factor, where, therefore, the Negro boycott would be ineffective, but where white reprisal must surely be severely felt. Moreover, it is their money that keeps the black belts going, and that money comes from the white belts! In answer to the strident wails about whites "taking money out of our section", it might well be asked, "Whence does this money come and what would happen if it ceased to arrive?"

Boycott Failures

The wisdom of the Negro embarking upon an economic boycott campaign is not proved by the "argument" that others have resorted to it. In the first place, this Negro boycott is unique in that it is the first ever launched specifically for increasing employment. Practically all others have been instigated for political purposes or to enforce the closed shop principle. Secondly, a tactic to be successful must not only be *a* method but *the* method. Its ultimate object must be success in battle—not to dash heroically forward into a salient only to be enfiladed. The Negro can afford no Pyrrhic victories.

The boycott as a tactic was invented by the Irish Nationalists in the 1880s under Charles Stewart Parnell, and is named after Captain Boycott, its first victim. In reprisal the British government passed the Crimes Act of 1887 which resulted in the suppression of the boycott movement. Introduced into the United States in 1886 by trade unions, its illegal nature was established in the early Nineties when William Howard Taft, then judge of the sixth circuit U. S. court, upheld the verdict of a jury awarding damages to the Moorse Lime Company boycotted by the Bricklayers Union No. 1. In the Bucks Stove and Range Company versus the American Federation of Labor (1907), President Samuel Gompers of the A. F. of L. was convicted of contempt of court for refusing to abandon advocacy of a boycott. In February 1908 a suit was decided against the Hatters' Union of Danbury, Conn., in the U. S. supreme court of attempting to boycott the products of a local hat manufacturer. The jury verdict of $74,000 damages financially ruined the Hatters' Union members. On July 31, 1934, three officials of the National Shoe Workers Union were fined $300 and assessed litigation costs of $1,000 in contempt proceedings brought against the organization by the Gregory & Reed shoe company of Lynn, Mass. The company obtained an injunction a year before against the union's demonstrations in front of the plant, which the latter violated.

The Indian boycott against British cotton goods merely succeeded in shifting the business from Lancashire to Osaka. The Indian masses are no better off economically or politically.

The Turkish boycott of Austrian ships and goods following the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1909, was ineffectual and petered out.

The various boycotts launched by national and international labor groups have fallen as flat as a baccalaureate address.

The Chinese boycott against Japanese goods was eminently successful until the Japanese retaliated by bombarding Shanghai, grabbing Manchuria and Jehol and marching to the gates of Peiping, whereupon the Nanking government repudiated the boycott and it promptly collapsed.

Jews Against Nazis

The Negro boycotters are wont to find inspiration in the Jewish boycott against Nazi Germany. However, Johannes Steel, an authority on German economics, pointed out in TODAY for July 14, 1934, that the Hitler economic policies "and not the anti-German boycott, as is widely believed, are responsible for the decline in German trade. . . . The part played by the much-publicized boycott in the ruin of Germany's export trade is negligible."

The close economic interdependence of nations and peoples makes the boycott as a punitive weapon a double-edged sword. For this reason many thoughtful Jews question its use. Rabbi Solomon Grayzel of Philadelphia said recently: "The boycott as an organized and purposeful weapon with which to bring an enemy of the Jews to his knees, is, to say the least, not a reliable weapon. It certainly offers no means for a permanent solution to the problem of recurrent anti-Jewishness. . . . Moreover, *no minority can afford to resort to force.* Even if this boycott against Nazi Germany, aided as it is by a great variety of other economic forces, succeeds, I doubt that we will ever again be in a position to use the boycott as a weapon".

Morris D. Waldman, secretary of the American Jewish Committee recently warned Jews against the "accentuation of separatist consciousness. . . . We must not permit Hitlerite agitation to throw us back into the moral ghetto of unhealthy Jew-consciousness and an estrangement from non-Jewish neighbors. . . . *We must be wary, too, of translating self-analysis into self-betrayal.* I cannot, for example, warn too strongly against the acceptance of the dogma that occupational guidance is to be based on group quotas. Such a course is not only dangerous to our basic rights but may even be futile."

Our black boycotters might well ponder these pearls of wisdom from those whom Negroes so frequently hail as mentors on minority group tactics. Unhealthy race-consciousness is growing among Aframericans like swine in a fattening pen. Some of our leading spokesmen, to say nothing of the lunatic fringe of professional agitators, are busily feeding the fires of race chauvinism. They not only bay for more segregation but they advocate policies that will assure it. Weak and weaponless, they clamor for economic war, quite willing to sacrifice 887,402 Negro jobs to get 57,144. They would rend the stratosphere with their bellows of protest if white customers insisted upon Negro merchants hiring white help.

(*Continued on page 274*)

Radio's Roly-Poly Organist

By Roy Wilkins

PERHAPS it isn't fair, really, to write this just at this moment, for I am still under the spell of "Fats" Waller's organ music. For the past hour I have been sitting around the organ studios on the ninth floor of the Paramount building in the heart of Times Square. It is from here that Fred Feibel, slender Ann Leaf, and roly-poly Thomas "Fats" Waller broadcast over the Columbia network. "Fats" is at the console now, skipping from this to that, playing *with* the huge organ. He fills up the bench. He dwarfs the manuals and the banks of vari-colored stops. There is still twenty-five minutes before his program and so, with a final flip and crash, he slips down for a chat.

Like many another minister's son, Waller turned thumbs down on his father's suggestion that he don the cloth. At the age of fifteen he landed a job in LeRoy Wilkins's cabaret where he sang and played until 1924. Two years later he got his first big chance when the late Arnold Rothstein, world-famous gambler, asked him if he could write music. Although he had never written a song, Young Waller answered in the affirmative and turned out the tunes for "Keep Shuffling," which Rothstein was backing. "Willow Tree," "How Jazz Was Born," and "Chocolate Bar," were the hit songs of the show.

After the show closed Waller made a tour of big picture houses in the Middle West and returned to New York in 1930 and wrote the lyrics for the musical comedy, "Hot Chocolates," whose outstanding hit was "Ain't Misbehavin'." Then to Cuba and from there to Europe. He played at the famous Kit Kat club in London for Sophie Tucker and at the Moulin Rouge in Paris. In all his travels and stage work, however, he never neglected his studying. He spent months in Vienna studying dexterity under Godowsky. Altogether, at various times, he has studied two years with this teacher. in addition to constant work under Carl Bohn of New York.

His first big radio work came at WLW in Cincinnati after his return from Europe. In March, 1933 he came to the Columbia Broadcasting System and now, twice a week, on Monday and Thursday nights, he and his Rhythm Club and the Beale Street Boys make merry music. On Saturday nights he and his big organ take the air waves. Every other Sunday night he is a guest star with the Cliff Edwards program.

He has written songs that have been sung across the nation. Besides "Ain't Misbehavin'," there are "I've Got a Feelin' I'm Fallin'," "My Fate Is in Your Hands," "Honeysuckle Rose," "Keeping Out of Mischief Now," and many others. For a friend and fellow-composer, J. C. Johnson (writer of "Don't Let Your Love Go Wrong") "Fats" is introducing soon over the air Johnson's newest song, "Believe It Beloved."

Thomas "Fats" Waller at His Piano in the Columbia Studios

Suddenly Waller stopped answering my questions and crushed out a cigarette. He glanced at the clock which said 7:40. One of his big genial smiles broke as he asked, "Isn't that enough?"

The program director was in his place. The announcer, Kenneth Roberts, was at his microphone. The clock has only twenty seconds to go, then—Kenneth Roberts is talking to America, a few bars of introduction are easing from the instrument, chubby fingers do incredible things to the keys, and "Fats" Waller is on the air!

The Negro Worker and the N R A

By Gustav Peck

Dr. Peck, who is Executive Director of the Labor Advisory Board, maintains that the NRA has benefited the Negro worker and sets forth his argument in this article. He wishes it understood that this is a personal statement and does not commit either the Labor Advisory Board or the NRA to this or any other policy

THE Negro worker has a position in relation to the NRA program which is not quite typical of the average worker in the United States This arises out of our historical development and the peculiar and untypical status of the Negro worker in industry at large. That does not mean that the Negro worker has not benefited as much as the white worker; indeed, there is plenty of ground to surmise that he has benefited more. While we have no compelling statistical evidence for such an assertion, it is none the less a fair deduction from all the limited experience with the labor provisions of codes that the wages of the lowest-paid workers have had the largest percentage of increase and, also, that minimum wages are better enforced than wages above the minimum.

As a result of the peculiar position of the Negro in our economic and social life, a position for which certainly the NRA is not accountable, the benefits of the NRA are spread over a smaller portion of the total Negro population than they are spread over the white population in general. First, agricultural workers are excluded from the benefits of the NRA; and it is a historical fact that a larger proportion of Negro workers are still in agriculture than is true of white workers. Second, domestic service workers are not covered under the NRA; and again it is a fact that a larger proportion of Negro workers are in domestic service than is true of white workers. Third, a more than proportionate number of Negro workers are in the service industries than is the case of white workers and, as everyone knows by this time, the labor provisions in the service trades are all not only of lower standard, but are badly enforced and there is some disposition to abandon them completely.

Considering the Negro workers who do come under the benefits of the NRA, a more than proportionate number of them are in the least skilled occupations. It is not the point at present whether they ought to be there or whether they have the potentialities for every kind of skilled occupation. Because such a large proportion of Negroes have unskilled occupations, more of them are affected by the minimum wage and find themselves in exempted classes both as to wages and hours.

One more historical fact still further complicates the situation. Despite persistent migrations to the North, the great bulk of Negro workers are still in the south. Therefore, when a Southern differential is established for any reason it effects the bulk of the Negro workers and this is not true of the white workers, the vast majority of whom reside in the North.

To the degree, also, that collective bargaining is the instrument for increasing wages above the minimum, the backwardness of industrial organization among colored workers, and the comparatively small number who have contractual relations with employers is a deterring circumstance.

At the risk of overlaboring the foregoing, I think it necessary to repeat that the situation growing out of all these conditions is not the work of the NRA and it is not fair to blame the NRA for not curing all these ills, if such they be, within a year.

The Differential Wage

Not one of the 500 odd codes now in existence has a Negro differential; but of the first 275 codes examined 114 contain territorial or regional differentials. Why have these differentials been established?

The case for differentials has been made before the NRA in industry after industry, and only the foolhardy and unrealistic would deny that there is some merit to the arguments advanced in some, if not in all, industries. The procedure of the NRA is to give every party at interest a hearing and southern manufacturers have as much right to a hearing in the NRA as northern manufacturers or Negro workers or trade unionists or white workers; and they all have been heard. The provisions of the code are the result of negotiation, compromise and judgment. They are not made by an omniscient or omnipotent person, and they undoubtedly contain all the inadequacies which arise in coming to conclusions by the method of negotiation. In industry after industry we have to take account of the relative economic backwardness of the South, of its less skilled and less experienced working force, and of the normal desire of southern manufacturers to have the same advantages which the North had in its own industrial adolescence. The lower labor costs of the South are of long standing, and those who have the responsibility of making final judgment on these issues must have an opportunity to watch the effects of quick changes which may be upsetting to industry and to the community dependent upon local industry.

We are confronted constantly, also, with the fact that both in the South and even more in smaller communities which are the seats of industry in the South, the cost of living is lower; and to the degree that minimum wages are influenced by the conception of the cost of living, that too must be weighed in the balance. This is not the place to go into an elaborate account concerning the standard of living; but we are confronted constantly with the argument, advanced with greater or less seriousness, that the low standard of living of the Negro frequently means decreased efficiency and unwillingness to work regularly when higher wages are paid. Frankly, we have not been impressed with this argument, as we know full well that it has been advanced against the white workers in their early struggles. We have always taken the position that our principal aim is to maximize purchasing power and stimulate industry and that Negro workers, by and large, exhibit the same desire as white workers for comforts, diversity of

NEXT MONTH

John P. Davis, secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, will have an article in the October CRISIS discussing the points brought forward here by Dr. Peck. Keep up with the story of the New Deal as it is affecting Negro workers. Order your copy now from your newsdealer.

products, and the good things which make up the higher standard of living.

Despite the fact that the differential is territorial and not racial, it is undoubtedly true that the presence of large numbers of Negro workers has seriously influenced the negotiations. Yet there is no racial differential where larger economic considerations are not involved. The four thousand Negro dressmakers in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union receive all the benefits of the high rates of the Coat and Suit Code.

Minimum Wage Endangered

Finally, there is one serious economic argument favoring differentials, which I believe has no bearing upon the Negro question, but has a decided bearing on the philosophy of the NRA. Our larger responsibility is to increase the purchasing power of labor and partly by this method to stimulate industry. Since historical development and pre-existing conditions have brought about an uneven development of our industrial life, and since it is a well-known historical fact that wages in the South have always been lower than wages in the North, any attempt on our part suddenly to wipe out these differentials would mean that the minimum wage that we could obtain would be lower than the series of minimum wages possible by a careful use of differentials. Concretely, a minimum wage of, let us say, 30c an hour for the nation as a whole may, with the proper use of differentials, become a minimum wage of 30c in the deep South, 32½c in the rest of the South, 35c in some sections of the North and 40c in areas like New York and California. It is a serious question whether we could afford to jeopardize the interest of the great bulk of industrial workers of our country for an academic principle not in accordance with either the facts or with our historical development.

This is not to say that there are not serious arguments against the use of differentials. Some of us hold that the minimum wages in codes should provide enough for a decent living. Those who are familiar with these problems know how much more complicated they are than they appear. Very few people live completely alone; and if you live alone and support just yourself, your position is quite different from the person who lives alone and has responsibility to others or the person who pools his income with other earners in all the varieties of ways which are possible. The typical situation is the pooling of incomes in a family; and what we need to know before we can answer questions about the standard of living is the income of our twenty-five million families rather than the income of individual wage earners.

None the less, I suppose one might argue that our industry can now afford the simple things which every human being working for a living should have; that we can determine the amount of money needed to secure these and fix a kind of national minimum on this basis rather than any other. The NRA has not attempted to do that, though if the institutions established under the NRA persist, there is every likelihood that further discussions and experimentation will take place along this line.

Those who present the case against differentials also say that the lower labor costs in the South have developed principally by taking advantage of labor and that the NRA contemplates that competition should not be at the expense of labor. They would go further and say that to the degree that the southern rate is a rate for Negroes, it is a relic of slavery and should be eliminated.

All these arguments against differentials are on a high human plane and find justification in what we hope is the steady humanization of industry. But for all the talk of surpluses, the age of abundance, etc., we are still in the position of having to work hard for a living and the source of income cannot safely be lost sight of. To counter the argument that the South is economically backward and that southern labor is less efficient, it is frequently possible to show in some industries that the newer factories are in the South rather than in the North, that they are the most efficient plants in the industry, and that they are managed with the best modern technique. Where these conditions exist, to permit a differential is to encourage unfair competition, especially in industries with national markets.

Finally, it is argued that the NRA must raise the fundamental question as to whether it is wise from a social point of view to encourage the perpetuation of inefficient firms if these firms can continue to exist in competition with other firms which pay higher wages and are yet able to reduce costs through superior management.

NRA Is Reform Instrument

The NRA is a vast instrument of social reform. It has accomplished in one year what social reformers of every variety and breed for several generations have not been able to do. Only a year ago even the trade union which thought in terms of 44 hours a week was a revolutionary and scarcely heard-of phenomenon. Now, everybody looks upon the 40-hour week as a relatively long week not merely for skilled trade unionists, but for almost every variety of unskilled labor. Finally, acceleration of progress is seen in the elimination of child labor, in the establishment of minimum wages for men as well as for women, in the promotion of collective bargaining, and in the spread of the best labor standards hitherto prevailing only in our most advanced industrial states.

From these points of view the NRA has been a success beyond the expectations of most of the people devoted to it. That it has not abolished unemployment, though it has served seriously to reduce it, and that it has not solved all of our industrial and social ills, some of which were planted over a hundred years ago, is true enough; but only the most naive person could expect it to do all that within the period of less than a year by the democratic methods employed.

As an instrument of social reform, the NRA has infinite possibilities that scarcely have been tapped. I do not hesitate to say that the disappointments of labor with the NRA are due to the shortcomings of labor even more than to the NRA. Among these shortcomings of labor are their lack of intelligence in knowing their interests and pursuing them; their failure to follow up their advantages; their inability to cooperate for common purposes; the ineptitude of some of their leaders; and many other causes too numerous to mention. But despite all these phenomena, progress has been made. It is about time that labor cease to expect the benefits of the NRA to come as by a magic wand and to give serious thought to the possibilities of the NRA as an instrument of social reform.

With respect to the problems of the Negro workers, it is necessary to make a close and continuing study of how they are faring in codified industries, so that abuses may be remedied and further improvement in their status obtained. Probably some distinction will have to be maintained between manufacturing and service trades. In manufacturing industries, where markets are national, the employers as well as the workers have an interest in evening out differentials as soon as relative efficiency permits it. In service industries the situation is different and in these industries habit, standard of living, cost of living and the level of income of the local population may have a long-time result in a continuance of differential wages.

Differentials Narrowed by NRA

I can't help feeling that there is a profound difference in facing this problem between those who approach it from a practical and industrial point of view and those who approach it from a strictly social and humanitarian point of view and I am not at all convinced from the evidence that I have that the latter point of view is more helpful to the Negroes in the present situation. There

(*Continued on page 279*)

Which College—White or Negro?

By William H. McClendon

This is the prize winning essay in the contest conducted for college students by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last spring. The prize winning essay in the high school group will be published in an early issue of THE CRISIS. Mr. McClendon is a student of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia

IN this period of changing social conditions in which the fate of the Negro fluctuates with every rising or ebbing tide of economic prosperity, this question is one of vast and profound significance, is the white college educating the Negro to the end that he will look at life more intelligently and cope with its bewildering problems more confidently than the Negro college; or is the Negro college more far-reaching in the complicated task of fitting the Negro youth for the proper social adjustment to an environment that is both discouraging and challenging to his most ambitious efforts? Without hesitation and apology I answer that I believe the Negro college will be the saving grace of the Negro race until the fundamental attitude of the white man toward the Negro makes a radical change. The white college, until that time, can never prepare the young Negro for life.

At the present time, the Negro's economic survival depends, with the exception of a very few rare cases, upon the patronage of his own people; at the present time, the Negro's social happiness certainly is limited to the circle of his own people. Perhaps in art, the Negro is able to escape beyond the boundaries of America's color-prejudiced world. Even this assertion I make with my tongue in cheek, for daily I can read of the insults cast at Roland Hayes, Countee Cullen, and others. If, then, the Negro's means of livelihood depends upon his race; and if the Negro's associates and companions are to be Negroes, is it not a necessity that he be trained with these people and taught how to serve them, not specifically, of course, but with the idea in mind of working with them and for them? Let us look into the life of a Negro student in a "white" college. Let us see for what life he is being prepared, if for any. Then, let us consider the college life of an average Negro student in a "race" institution of higher learning.

The Lone Athlete

John Green is a very brilliant student, a junior in the undergraduate school of, let us say, Ohio State university. John is a tall, handsome youth, with the features and hair of a caucasian, but with the dark brown skin that marks him indelibly as a Negro. He has maintained an average of *B* for the three years of his college career. In his sophomore year he "made" the varsity football team and would have been made captain had he not been a Negro. Was this preparing John for any kind of life to make him embittered, knowing that he was not allowed a small honor because he was a Negro? When John travels with the football team, he is always a problem. Special arrangements must be made for him on the trip, and frequently the problem of finding a hotel or a roommate who will accept the lone Negro football player confronts the coach, and if John is a sensitive youth he will soon feel that he is a constant source of trouble to the team and to the school; if he is of the more deplorable, belligerent type, such treatment may make him look for prejudices where there are none and make unnecessary bids on the coach's and school's liberality for his special comfort and convenience. Is this training John Green to use tact and diplomacy when he is out in the world, or is this making the Negro an egotistic ass, forever thinking of his own importance; or does it crush him with an inferiority complex that is nearly as bad and far more detrimental to his material and social success?

In this college, let us say, there are about one thousand white students and about fifty Negroes. With whom is John going to associate? If he is as brilliant as I have presupposed, then, you may say that his mere brilliance will find him excellent company among white and black. But this hypothesis too often has been disproved. When a Negro is brilliant in the classroom, the white student always finds time to talk with him, but when they meet on the street there is a polite greeting, an embarrassed pause, and a pathetically polite, but hasty farewell. And if he is an average student, chances of John's shining in the social spotlight will indeed be slim.

Well, what is the mythical John to do for social contact of which so much is said when one speaks of college life? Is he to bury himself in a book in his dormitory room (if he is allowed to live in the dormitory), or associate entirely with members of his own race? John attempts to analyze the situation and says to himself that he will not willingly segregate himself when he does not have to. So, when he enters the library, he seats himself as far from his race as possible, not from any feeling of superiority, but because he does not believe that they should huddle together just because they are Negroes. When John enters a new course, he makes it a rule not ever to sit by another Negro. Why should he, unless it is a friend? And in the cafeteria, it becomes a habit for him to take a table in an inconspicuous corner where no Negro will be likely to sit. I believe that John, as many students in white colleges, is trying to look at the situation intelligently. But the white students will not let him. They are polite, too polite, but they never thaw. And the Negro students say that John wants to be white and shun him when he attempts to make himself agreeable.

No Dramatic Club

What are those extra-curricular activities of a college that give a student a wider outlook on life, some channel for the development of his latent talent, or some distinction in recognition of merit or ability? Well, there is the dramatic club. John enjoys dramatics. Is he eligible for membership? Ostensibly yes. But what part could John play in a sea of white faces? The plays would all have to be chosen with him in mind. Must he always be a Negro servant or an Arab or an Indian? And would it not disturb the delicate feelings of the audience if romance were injected into John's part? No, the dramatic club is out. How about a fraternity? He does give in enough to his principles to join a Negro fraternity which has just about as much influence and activity on the white campus as a dead man in the catacombs of Rome. Maybe John is talented in writing. The Literary Guild? He makes his application and is accepted. "It will be wonderful for the club to hear some Negro dialect stories." John

retreats into his shell in discouragement. "Why must I write dialect stories? I have never been south of Cincinnati."

With the exception of the college choir and certain athletics the Negro's chance for demonstrating or developing personal initiative or group leadership is very poor. Go to any campus where the Negro is in the minority and observe how he is neglected by the majority group and how in his own group he is disintegrated by a thousand and one petty cliques and jealousies. If a white college succeeds in doing anything at all, it is highly successful in tearing down the attitude of friendliness between the Negro students. All of them vie for recognition by their white brothers and sisters; and when one in the crowd gets it, like a pack of wolves, the others pounce upon him for trying to "betray the race."

Job As Red Cap?

After John has been graduated from college, where is he to teach and what race of people? Nine times out of ten he finds himself instructing black boys and girls in the delta of Louisiana or the foothills of some sunbaked Georgia town. And how does this Negro who has been taught with white students conduct himself? Does he come to the South with the feeling that it is not so bad after all; or does he still cling to the view that his education is something so greatly superior to his fellow teachers, graduates of Negro schools, that he is forever casting aspersions on these, his co-workers? Does he accept conditions as he finds them or is he constantly referring to the Negro's advantages in Columbus, Ohio? Does he make a pretense of liking his environment or does he delight in saying that "he just isn't accustomed to dealing with so many Negroes?" Nine times out of ten, these things he does. He cannot work with people because all his college years have been spent in trying to get away from them gracefully or in trying to approach them awkardly and artificially. He is not prepared for life among his people or among any people because he is unsympathetic with their aims and shortcomings, never having experienced the same group ambitions or despair. He cannot lead the people because he has not the initiative and he cannot follow a leader because he feels he is too superior. There is only one thing he can do successfully and that is to deride and criticize his associates who have been "victims" of a segregated school system. He is a tragic, haunted, incapable misfit, and usually finds his way back across the Mason-Dixon line in search of a position commensurate with his opinion of his abilities, and finally consoles himself with a red cap and a blue uniform in the station of some metropolitan railroad terminus.

Normal College Life

Let us look at the other side of the picture. Life in the Negro college is wholesome and normal, not artificial and bloated with a false sense of values for the Negro student. It is a place where race relations are not tabooed; it is a place where assertion, responsibility, and initiative are easily responded to and easily developed. One is here no longer ashamed of his race, his heritage, or the future. In a Negro college there is every opportunity for the stimulation of thought without fear or without prejudice. The petty jealousies and minor envies will be cases for the intelligent Negro youth to study in order to judge human character after he will have left the college halls; for there is no better place to study and evaluate Negro community life than in a Negro college. There is snobbery, yes; there is unwholesome rivalry, I'll admit; there are ostracism and unfairness, I'll agree; but that there is a wall of indifference, neglect, and subtle ignoring which crushes the spirit of a student and which burns into his soul I will deny until the high heavens fall in ashes about me.

If any college prepares the Negro youth at all for service and dignified work, it is the Negro college. It matters not how one argues, the fact remains that we are Negroes first, and then Americans. Would that we could truthfully say that we are Americans first and Negroes next! The fact flames furiously in our faces, making us burn with a bitterness that has made Countee Cullen, the eminent poet, say in "Caroling Dusk" that he wished that a part of his education had been received in a Negro institution. Cullen is an artist; he is an American artist; he may be a world artist; but withal, he cannot escape the fact that he is first a Negro artist.

I think that the time has come when the Negro should be shown that his plight lies with his people and that until he comes into closer harmony with them, there can be no closer harmony with the other race. Furthermore, he should realize that the type of training that he needs to sharpen his innate faculties, to increase his self-respect, and to make him more companionable with men of his own people is not to be found in the so-called "white" schools of the country, but in the colleges designed for the training of Negro youth.

Forrester B. Washington Resigns

Because the present demand for trained Negro social workers has caused unprecedented growth and expansion of the Atlanta School of Social Work, Forrester B. Washington has resigned to give full time to the work of the School, beginning September 1. Mr. Washington has never completely severed his connection with the latter institution but has been on a leave of absence granted by the Board of Trustees.

Miss Marian Allen

Among the graduates of New York University in June was Miss Marian Allen of Brooklyn, N. Y., who had conferred upon her the master of arts degree in mathematics. Miss Allen is a teacher in the public schools of Brooklyn and is active in civic work. For several years she has been a valuable worker in the Brooklyn branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and for the past three years has been the secretary of the branch.

More About Graduates

James O. Hopson was awarded his M. A. at the University of Pittsburgh. He was awarded a graduate council scholarship for excellence in the field of English. The thesis, "The Negro in Contemporary American Fiction" was considered one of the most meritorious and original theses presented the university for several years.

G. C. Snowton was the ranking student at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston, Okla. There are 601 enrolled at the university. Seven received A.B. degrees and twenty-four received B.S. degrees.

Amanda E. Peele received the M. S. degree from Cornell.

Dr. F. S. Rankin was appointed a physician on the staff of the Chicago State hospital. He led 300 physicians in this examination by obtaining an average of 98.6.

John H. Carter received the degree of M. A. from the University of Illinois. He maintained an "A" average and received his degree in the minimum time. He was chairman of the University Interracial Commission and the first Negro ever chosen for membership on the campus Y.M.C.A. cabinet.

William Thomas Carter was awarded his M. A. degree at the University of Michigan. He will be instructor in French at Virginia State College.

Frances Billups was honored by the local chapter of the National Speech fraternity, Pi Kappa Delta, at Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, Michigan, on May 19, at their annual formal banquet. She was presented with a forensic key of honor, the highest award granted by this fraternity. She was awarded her B. A. degree.

A. B. Bland, Beatrice Moore and T. R. Barnes were awarded the M. A. degree at the University of Iowa.

Dr. Taft Claude Raines was awarded his M. D. degree at Loyola University, Chicago, Ill., cum laude. There were 22 students enrolled.

The University of Colorado, at Boulder, has seven Negro students enrolled.

J. L. Wilson received the degree of M. A. from the University of Kansas at Lawrence.

Students Hold National Conference

Gathering in Chicago Condemns War, Scores Lynching, Urges Youth to be Active in Community Problem-Solving

By Ulysses S. Keys

President, National Student Club, Chicago

THE National Student Club of Chicago, an organization consisting of more than two hundred college students and graduates, sent out to the Negro students of the nation a call for a National Conference of Students to be held in Chicago from August 1 to 5. The conference had for its purpose the consideration of problems which affect students, the formulation of methods and techniques to be used as approaches in the solution of these problems, and the crystalization of a group opinion regarding procedures and policies that express students ideals and attitudes. All sessions were held at the Church of the Good Shepherd except the Friday afternoon and Sunday meetings.

Wednesday. Miss Harriet Glover, conference chairman and a Chicago public school teacher, presided at the opening session. The president of the National Student Club delivered the welcome address. Dr. Channing Tobias of New York gave the keynote address on "The place of the college man and woman in the community." He emphasized the importance of college students participating in the activities of the church and in the affairs of the community. "Students must be sympathetic toward the church and must have a scientific and open view toward its policies," he said.

A reception was given by the National Student Club Wednesday evening at Poro College, in honor of the members of the advisory committee of the conference and the delegates.

Thursday. "War and enforced military training;" "Strikes, mass demonstration, and other radical techniques;" "Religion and the established church;" and "Should the Negro seek to preserve his racial identity?" were the subjects discussed in the morning and afternoon by groups that were concerned with interpreting the attitudes of students.

Dr. Paul Douglas, head of the department of economics at the University of Chicago and a member of the Consumers Advisory Board of the N.R.A., addressed the group in the afternoon on "What the New Deal is trying to accomplish." "The N.R.A.'s agricultural program has hurt the Negro . . . Last year there was a good deal of squeezing out of the tenants; there has not been as much this year," the speaker said. "The administration adopted these measures not to hurt anybody. These were incidental effects."

Students Being Miseducated

"Are Negro students being miseducated?" was the subject of the panel discussion held in the evening. "Vocationally, the Negro's education is sadly neglected," declared George Dorsey, history teacher at Wendell Phillips high school and the leader of the discussion. "The first thing an education can do is to earn one a living . . . We are not taught to write and deal with Negro life," concluded the discussion group leader.

H. Councill Trenholm, president of the Alabama State Teachers College, talked on "Education for living in the modern age."

Friday. The group met at the Illinois Host House on the World's Fair grounds in a public gathering of white and colored people to hear William Pickens speak on " A Century of Progress of the Negro Race." He portrayed the progress and achievements of the Negro race from 1619 to the present day. The group toured the World's Fair following the lecture. In the evening a symposium was led by Dr. Arthur Falls, Dr. M. O. Bousfield, and Barefield Gordon on the subject, "The way-out solutions to the problem of race." Speaking on "Economic Stability," Dr. Bousfield said, "What the Negro wants is a Messiah to get the masses together . . . It will take some fool idea to get the great masses of Negroes united. Something like the Garvey movement or the Forty-ninth state movement," he said. "After you once get the masses behind such a movement you can throw the strength behind some intellectual program like the N.A.A.C.P. or the Urban League," he concluded. He made it clear that he was not an exponent of any of the above movements.

Saturday. No morning session was held. In the afternoon, Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell of the department of sociology at the University of Chicago, spoke. Later, study groups discussed the following subjects relative to the student and community problems; disfranchisement, educational standards in segregated schools, what students can do toward the restoration of suffrage in the southern states.

Pickens Urges Cooperation

Saturday evening. The delegates, members and their friends went to the International House at the University of Chicago for a dinner dance. Miss Thyra Edwards, who had just returned from an extended tour of foreign countries including England, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Germany, and Russia, gave a lecture on the activities of students in other countries.

Sunday. Dean Pickens delivered the closing address of the last session of the conference which was held at the Wabash Avenue branch of the Y.M.C.A. Speaking on "Youth's contribution to tomorrow's world" he said that students should connect their energy and youth with the wisdom and experience of the older people. He said young people are needed to participate in the activities of the N.A.A.C.P. and should feel that they have a great contribution toward making that a greater organization.

Summarizing the accomplishments of the conference, Miss Harriet Glover said,

"We faced the fact, early in our thinking, that there are some situations about which we, as students, could do little or nothing. A conscious effort was made in planning the program to make the range of subjects wide and varied in order to stimulate thought and develop interest in these problems, and to encourage investigation and study of facts. It was our conclusion that students must be

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TVA

Of all the New Deal "alphabet" government, least has been said, so far as Negroes are concerned, about TVA, the great Tennessee Valley Authority, through which the Roosevelt administration is launching its greatest single social and economic experiment. How about colored people? Are they in or out of the picture? Charles H. Houston and John P. Davis made a motor tour through the valley in July and will have an illuminating article in the October CRISIS, out September 21.

James Crow in South Africa

By J. G. Coka

Here is a story of the establishment of Orlando township outside of Johannesburg, South Africa, which shows the almost dead parallel between jim-crow methods in South Africa and America, even to the attempts of native African "leaders" (even as some American Negro "leaders") to persuade their brothers to accept a segregated colony. Mr. Coka lives in South Africa

ORLANDO township gets its name from Councillor Orlando of the Johannesburg city council, who for many years was chairman of the Native Affairs Committee. It is the name given to the latest African location in Johannesburg, which is designed to house 80,000 Africans, become a South African Haarlem and be the model township of the Union of South Africa.

Owing to failure of the Western Native and Eastern Native township schemes, the council decided to depart from the usual procedure. In those locations, houses were built on a uniform plan, one-doored and with no provisions for privacy. Other pin pricks made them unpopular among the Africans and as a result, the houses have remained half untenanted. It was to check financial losses and at the same time effectively segregate Africans that the new township, twelve miles from Johannesburg, was planned.

To minimize monotony, various colours of brick are used. The houses are large and the grounds more spacious than in other locations. There are two-roomed, and three-roomed, semi-detached cottages, as well as double cottages. All yards are enclosed with fine wire and the highways are broader. Instead of facing one or two directions, houses face all directions. But the same type of door has been kept and there is only one entrance.

Councillor Leake presented the Pathfinders of Orlando with a fine hall, which is also to be used by the inhabitants in conducting meetings. It has been named for him. There are church grounds, recreation grounds and provisions for administrative offices. The latest addition is the Corlett hospital, which is a gift from Mrs. Corlett, wife of a former mayor of the Golden City. It is well equipped with an operation theatre, children's ward, and wards for males and females. Although it is small, it will be of great service to the inhabitants.

When the township was formally opened in October 1932, the Councillors explained to the people that there would be no freehold property, but such people as in the opinion of the Manager of Native Affairs were deemed satisfactory, would be allowed to lease land for any period up to 99 years. In addition, they were assured that, subject to approval, some would be allowed to put up their own buildings and where financial assistance was necessary they would receive it. Otherwise the same location regulations would govern them.

Official Ban Issued

Advertisements and inducements failed to fill the houses. Africans once had been bitten with regard to other locations and had become shy. Nothing would make them leave the city. They put up excuses of the transport charges, general high cost of living far away from their jobs, and inadequate train services. The same predicament from which the Councillors had attempted to escape by building Orlando confronted them, still, i.e., the natives remained with them. They interviewed the Minister of Native Affairs and asked him to proclaim the whole of Johannesburg against African occupation. It was of no use. Some Joint Council African leaders and others in the employ of the municipality, attempted to persuade Africans to go to Orlando. All was of no avail. However the advent of the Coalition government, early in 1933, changed the aspect of affairs.

The new Minister of Native Affairs, P. W. G. Grobbler, signalized his advent into office by issuing a ban prohibiting three African Pathfinders to go to the Jamboree at Hungary. A month later, in July, he issued the long-asked-for proclamation, and to make it effective, made it a criminal offence for both tenant and landlord to harbour one another in any proclaimed area.

And then the great exodus began. From all sides and quarters, thousands of taxicabs, wagons, trains and buses, conveyed African homeseekers. Each suburb poured out its quota of the African population and all vehicles and means of conveyance were filled with luggage. Most of them sought homes in Sophiatown and Alexandria township, the only two freehold areas in Johannesburg. They were anticipated by the alert municipality, which prohibited landowners from harbouring them. Demurring landlords were served with summonses. The superintendents of the Eastern and Western Native townships, and Klipspruit location refused to give them accommodation. So chagrined were they that many left the Golden City for other centres. The majority, left with no other alternative, reluctantly took its way to Orlando, where houses were being built at the rate of a hundred a day.

Will "Unite Races"

In February, 1934, the Corlett hospital was formally opened. A large coterie of municipal officials, city councillors and their friends attended the opening. The mayor of the City opened it and pointed out that such a gift was unique in the annals of the Union and would tend to bring the white and black races together. I. H. Rathebe, sergeant of the police, suitably replied and expressed the appreciation of the African residents. It was left in charge of an African matron, Mrs. Grace Msimang, under the supervision of the public health department visitors.

The population of Orlando is close to ten thousand. The process of weeding out all Africans from the city has not ended and new arrivals swell it. In contradiction of the early statements about land ownership, the city council contemplates compensating Sophiatown landowners by giving land of similar extent in Orlando, because, owing to their close proximity to the city, it is desirable that they be removed.

At present building is going on at the same rate of a hundred houses a day. Several police raids, to the disgust of the inhabitants, have been carried out with their usual characteristics of beating and molesting men, women and children, disregard of privacy and arrest upon the slightest suspicion. A good number of de-tribalized and urban Africans of Johannesburg have made their homes there. The rentals are 6–8 dollars. The train service runs at 7:15 and 8:40 a.m. to and from the city, and at 2:40, 6:40, 7:40 and 9 p.m. The cost is 12 cents for a return journey; 60 cents for a weekly ticket and $2.08 for a monthly ticket.

Editorials

For Everything Except Lynching

A UNITED STATES secret service army plus the state and local constabularies of Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Minnesota finally succeeded, on July 22, in ending the career of John Dillinger, super-publicized bank robber and murderer. A newspaper report states that this tremendous man hunt, directed by the United States government, was hung on a single slender federal charge against Dillinger—transporting a stolen automobile across a state line.

Baby Bobby O'Connor, of fashionable Westchester county, New York, hardly had wandered out of earshot of the Hartsdale Manor home of his parents before U. S. secret service agents were scattered throughout the county. The cry of kidnaping (later disproved) was raised. With the 1932 Lindbergh kidnaping law as its authority, the government was hard on Bobby's trail.

New federal laws against crime, proposed by Attorney General Homer S. Cummings, were passed by the last Congress and signed by President Roosevelt. One of them permits the government to *presume* that a state line has been crossed—in other words, to presume that a federal crime has been committed—if kidnap victims are not released in three days.

The government has been diligent in tracing statutes and parts of statutes under which it can proceed against gangsters and kidnapers. Where there has been no federal law, one has been passed. But the government can present a score of excuses for not acting against lynching. Attorney General Cummings announced last February when he proposed his crime bills that he was "not interested" in the crime of hanging and roasting human beings within the borders of the United States of America. The same Congress which passed the crime bills side-tracked the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. The same federal agents who beat the bushes of Westchester county for Bobby O'Connor or chased up and down the great mid-west after Dillinger would not walk around the corner to stop a lynching.

General Hugh S. Johnson broadcasts that the Hitler massacre of June 30 made him "physically ill," but the twelve lynchings which have taken place since June 8 in the good old U. S. A. do not bring even a snort from the big chief of the NRA.

It is becoming plainer each day that the federal government is attempting to act in every situation affecting the health, welfare and life of the people except lynching. One might comment satirically and say that since lynching is the only phenomenon which this nation can claim exclusively in a civilized world, we are jealously and purposely preserving it in our national life. But the question is too serious for satire, merely. *How really and truly stable is a government which can muster troops, machine guns, airplanes, brains and money to hunt down a bank robber, but which cannot muster a good yawn over the regular and increasingly bold and barbarous manifestations of mob thinking and mob action?*

It is possible, without too great a stretch of the imagination, to picture the people who fight against lynching as the people who will save America from itself.

She Told A Lie

MRS. PAULINE BERNSTEIN, 34 Leo Place, Brooklyn, N. Y., has admitted to the district attorney of that city that she told a lie when she accused a Negro of attacking her the night of June 20. She said her attacker was a white man, but that she had been reading in the newspapers of an unidentified Negro attacking several women and decided to accuse a Negro "so that no suspicion would be directed against a white man."

Her confession is a better editorial than THE CRISIS can write on this old subject. It has all the ingredients: the poor, convenient Negro on which to place the blame, *any* convenient Negro, the inflammatory daily press, and the ever-present interracial sex-obsession of vast numbers of whites.

What would have happened if this woman had told her lie in Mississippi? How many hapless, innocent colored men have been either "legally" convicted or lynched on such a lie?

Help!

A CERTAIN colored man in a certain town in a northern state is in great trouble, having been convicted, upon dubious testimony, of criminal assault upon a white woman. The man has enjoyed an excellent reputation in his town and owns business property on the main street. He has had a fairly good income and has become known as a "solid" citizen.

After he was convicted, he wished to appeal to save himself from the death sentence and had his attorney write the N.A.A.C.P. for financial aid. His attorney demanded $350 spot cash just for expenses of the appeal and indicated there would be a good fee in addition. The N.A.A.C.P. could not send the $350 because it did not have it, nor could it promise to pay a fee, but it did promise $100 as a contribution, because the case was a worthy one.

Before the correspondence could be completed and a check for $100 drawn and mailed, the man telephoned long distance to New York reprimanding the N.A.A.C.P. for not taking over his case entirely. This is part of the conversation after the man had had his say:

"Mr. Blank, you have lived in Blank town a long time, haven't you?"

"Yes, sir. More than twenty years."

"You made money during those years and bought property, didn't you? You own a store property and some houses, don't you?"

"Yes, but I had to mortgage it for this case."

"In all those years did you ever hear of the N.A.A.C.P., did you ever send a dollar to help support it?"

"Well, sir, I never thought of it. Just when I was in jail a man told me to write to a society in New York and they would get me out."

"Mr. Blank, how do you think we get money to get people out of jail when people like you who have a little extra money won't support an organization?"

"I guess you are right. Of course, when I get out of this mess I am going to join the N.A.A.C.P., yes, sir!"

When and if he gets out, of course, he will forget the N.A.A.C.P., just as he forgot it for twenty years, and just as others whom the organization has helped have not even taken out a measly one dollar membership. Some even go further (after they get out) and claim they have done the organization a "favor" to allow it to assist them.

People behind jail bars usually manage to loose a healthy "Help!" to 69 Fifth avenue, New York; but they are deaf as a post when 69 Fifth avenue sends out the same cry.

Boycotts

WE think the people who stage boycotts of businesses in order to secure jobs for colored people in places where colored purchasers form the majority of the customers ought to realize they are using a dangerous weapon which must be handled skillfully to secure the best results. We think the people who oppose boycotts ought to realize that the Negro has tried nearly every other peaceful method to secure a fair

Editorials

proportion of employment without notable success.

THE CRISIS hopes, also, that the boycotters understand they are pursuing no sound economic method, but employing merely a trick; that is, the economic plight of the Negro is so fundamental, so rooted in the evils of the American profit system, that a few boycotts here and there, even though successful, do not even scratch the surface of our ills. But, the situation of the Negro being what it is, THE CRISIS believes that wherever a careful survey of local conditions seems to justify it, colored people should organize and campaign to secure jobs in some proportion to their spending power.

Cutting Off Its Nose to Spite Its Face

IT is no news to students of the labor movement in this country that the dominant American labor body, the American Federation of Labor, while professing in pious resolutions its opposition to barriers against the organization and fair treatment of Negro workers, has exerted little real pressure to improve their lot.

While the A. F. of L. has been contenting itself with pronouncements, evidence has been accumulating over the years which points unmistakably to the conclusion that organized labor, in ignoring, excluding, or segregating black labor, is building its house on sand.

The latest of many examples is the attempted general strike in San Francisco. Without examining the merits of the general strike as a weapon, we can observe what actually did happen on the Pacific Coast. San Francisco is one of the most thoroughly unionized cities in the country. Yet, in this great port, the longshoremen's union had permitted only 23 Negroes to receive union cards. Shipping is a major industry, indeed, the very life blood of the Golden Gate city. Longshoremen are, therefore, in a most powerful and strategic position. What did they do? Did they consolidate their position, provide protection for their flanks and rear, make certain they had the waterfront as tightly in their grip as strategy could make it? They did everything the average American working man does, including, according to the best traditions, excluding black labor.

As a result, newspaper dispatches tell of black strikebreakers running the gauntlet of union pickets, being housed on the waterfront in boats, and drawing $80 to $110 weekly for their work on the docks.

Who shall rise to condemn them? The labor theorists? Surely not they, with their academic chatter of the "higher goal of labor," or the "whole concept of the labor movement." They declare the lot of all labor would be improved if the Negro worker would see the real point—the point being that he should submit patiently to exclusion and segregation (the while starving) and not break strikes, so other workers can win and return to the job to continue excluding him.

Organized labor? Yes, organized labor has cried and is crying. It tells itself bitterly that Negro workers won't play the game, that they have no conception of the union labor movement. Organized labor has wailed and wept before. It has never learned. It cannot realize that with 12,000,000 colored Americans in this country, the majority workers, it is cutting off its nose to spite its face when it ignores them.

Marines Out of Haiti

BY the time this is in type the last United States Marine will have left the shores of Haiti. In keeping with his promises to President Stenio Vincent of the island republic, President Roosevelt has ordered our soldiers out two months prior to the agreement made earlier this year.

It was just fourteen years ago, almost to the day, when the first of four sensational articles by James Weldon Johnson on the American occupation of Haiti appeared in The Nation. Those articles and the resultant protests made by American liberals headed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People finally reached the United States Senate and the long fight to end American imperialism in Haiti was begun.

With the Marines gone, the next step is to work for the end of the control of Haitian finances by American government officials for the "protection" of American investors, especially the National City bank of New York.

New Life to Porters' Union

WITH the passage by the last congress of an amendment to the Railway Labor Act, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has taken on new life. The amendment brings the Pullman company under the provisions of the act along with railroads, and thus forces it to enter into collective bargaining with such of its thousands of black employes as may organize themselves into a union. The union, of course, is already formed. For years it has been attempting to get the company to negotiate with it, but there was no instrumentality at hand to force the company into bargaining. That instrumentality is now available and A. Philip Randolph and his associates in the Brotherhood probably will lose no time in effecting an agreement to improve the lot of Pullman employes.

The struggle of the porters and maids for a living wage and decent working conditions has been one of the bravest battles against great odds ever waged by black workers in this country. Their opponent has been an unbelievably wealthy and arrogant corporation which year after year (until recently) has made scores of millions of dollars in net profits while paying porters less than $75 a month for an average of 400 hours of work. The fight has persisted despite disheartening snooping and betrayals from within the ranks of the workers, and ruthless attack from the corporation. It is to be hoped that under the impetus of the latest act of congress all porters and maids will unite to take the fruit of victory which the more hardy minority fought for through the years. The battle is not won, but another stout-hearted "push" will win it.

Letters to the Editor

THE CRISIS welcomes, and will give appropriate display to letters from readers on topics of interest. We welcome, especially, discussions by readers of articles, editorials and other features appearing in THE CRISIS. This issue contains articles on which there is a wide difference of opinion. Mr. McClendon, himself a student in a Negro college, paints a gloomy picture of life for a Negro student in a mixed college. Mr. Schuyler, in his characteristic fashion, lambasts the boycott, while Mr. Johns outlines graphically the necessity for a militant fight for jobs. Dr. Gustav Peck presents a plausible discussion of the NRA and its relation to Negro labor, with smooth explanation of that sore spot of colored Americans, the differential wage. What opinions have readers of THE CRISIS on these and other questions? Letters to the editor of 200 words or less will receive preference over longer communications.

Russian and American Theatre

By Wayland Rudd

Mr. Rudd sailed August 8 for Russia where he has been loaned by the famous Meyerhold Theatre to the Soviet moving picture trust to make pictures for a year. He is known in America for his playing of Negro leads at Jasper Deeter's Hedgerow theatre at Rose Valley, Pa., particularly for his portrayal of "The Emperor Jones." He has promised to do a series of articles for THE CRISIS of which this is the first

LOOKING at the theatre in America after working with the theatre in Russia for two consecutive years is a great and confusing experience for any American actor; and if that actor is a Negro it is almost a calamity.

To say that theatre in America is chaotic would be putting it generously. Chaos denotes a process and I can scarcely feel that our American theatre is in the process of anything unless it is dormancy. For the Negro actor, it looks to me as if it were practically dead. When I left America two years ago I was told by most of my intimate friends that I was a fool to go away just at the time the dawn of the Negro actor's day was breaking. I was reminded that America was looking to the Negro to give the theatre resuscitation, and I believed it myself. I left the Statue of Liberty behind me with strange misgivings on that warm June night, with the words of my friends echoing deep within my soul. I *was* a fool; but one cannot make steamships return to docks they have just left. So I went to Russia, and thus my story begins.

Wayland Rudd

My first day in Moscow a theatre party had been arranged for my group; and although I didn't understand a word that was being sung, I knew how that bold seaman, Ponce de Leon, would have felt had he actually stumbled into the sprays of that Fountain of Youth he sought. The vitality of the Russian theatre, obvious even in a light comic opera, caught and rejuvenated me. From that night on throughout the past two years I have been glad that I was a fool.

Came September and the opening of the Moscow theatre season, and I confess that there has never been anything in my histrionic experiences so thrilling and absorbing as the moments the theatre afforded me there unless it is my present imagination of what the theatre in America could be like if it were liberated as the Russian theatre is liberated.

Russian Directors Free

There are those who have heard of the strict censorship placed upon theatre in Russia and will arch their eyebrows at my use of the word liberated. But the strict consorship in the Soviet theatre only gives it a definiteness that theatre no place in the world can boast of. Fancy an American director having a script put into his hands and being told that the sky was his limit for production expenses and not to cut down the cast. If you know any director on whom you'd like to play a fatal trick, dress yourself like a Broadway Angel and call him into your office. Tell him you've got a play you want him to do and the only thing you want him to worry about is what the playright has to say. Then sit back and watch your poison work. If he ever recovers from the shock, you won't.

Yet that is the glorified privilege of the Russian director: to work unhampered by expense limitations, though he must worry about what the play says. The government which subsidizes all theatres in the Soviet says, "we'll make up all deficits, but your plays must be healthful to our society". The Broadway Angels say: "look out for our pocketbooks, society be d——ned". And because they were never interested in society nor the play, nor the actor, but in their pocketbooks, the theatre in America is almost dead. Society still wants plays; actors still want jobs, but the Angels can't make any money so—what have we? Therefore I repeat that when I look at theatre here after two years in Russia calamity rocks my very boot strings. And when I look at the way "the Negro is saving the American theatre" I am downright ashamed! I am ashamed for both the Negro and the theatre, because if the Negro had been awake to himself he might have saved the theatre in America; and if American theatre had given him a chance he might have saved it anyway.

"Song and Dance"

The Negro has long since had something vital to give theatre but theatre hasn't wanted it, or rather it has only wanted the "song and dance" and the "saucer burial" part of it. Theatre has been quite certain that its public only wanted to laugh at the Negro, and has refused to take him seriously. Until "Stevedore," no play on the Negro that did not have its tongue in its cheek has had a run. No producer would touch a serious play on the Negro so almost none has been written. Because almost none has been written the various Negro Little Theatre movements, not wanting to laugh at themselves have been limited to Mr. Paul Green for vehicles upon which to display their histrionic arts. But although Mr. Green writes very seriously and ever so beautifully on the Negro, in all that I have read by him, he paints pictures of utter futility. The result is that because the Negro neither gets a kick out of laughing at himself nor enjoys portrayals of life with its foot on his collar-bone, he has become inhibited and has dissipated his own chances to "save" American theatre by expending his Thespian virtues on "Lady Windermere's Fan" or Ibsen's "Doll House". While there is no reason why a Negro dramatic group should not do either of these plays, it is a positive fact that in doing them (however well done) such a group would not be making a contribution. So the strides that have been made by Negro Little Theatre movements have been small.

White actors unable to find jobs on Broadway have the repertory and summer theatres to absorb a part of their unemployed ranks, which allows them to persist in their profession of acting, even if remuneration is inadequate. The Negro, for the most part, excepting a few isolated cases, is giving up acting altogether and drifting back into divers old and new ways of eking out an existence, there being no repertory and summer theatres for him. An alarming fact, this, because the Negro's contribution to theatre is being just that much

(*Continued on page 278*)

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

BLACK BALLOTS

Dallas, Texas, *News*

APPARENTLY the attitude of the Democratic party in Texas toward the United States Supreme Court decision in the Nixon case is one of laissez faire. Whether that aloof position can be maintained in the face of a growing desire of the Negro voter in Texas to participate in the primaries in this state remains to be seen.

The Terrell election law of Texas practically incorporated party machinery in the mechanics of government, a situation which has brought about the ruling of the Supreme Court that the Negro's constitutional rights are denied to him, if he is refused a vote in the primary. Texas could meet the situation by legislation which would take hands off the control of parties but this is unlikely to occur.

So far as the Negro voter is concerned, there is no reason for keeping him out of the Democratic party. He is part of Texas and his political strength may grow to such proportions as would make him a welcome participant in party effort. The intelligent and capable Negro should vote, and in Texas his ballot is wasted unless it is cast in a Democratic primary.

The party should be the judge of its own membership qualifications. It would be, but for the peculiar political structure in Texas under the Terrell election law. But common sense should tell the Democratic party that it is no longer necessary, as it was in the '70's, to maintain a strictly white man's party. It is no longer dealing with the dense ignorance of the freed slave of that day. Where black ignorance remains, it is chargeable to the failure of the white dominated school system. It would be a splendid deed for the Democratic party itself to assume responsibility for curing that condition wherever it is found.

Speaking of the setbacks in Negro business, E. M. Martin, retiring president of the (National Negro Insurance) Association . . . was especially severe in his criticism of what he saw as the evil influence of leadership chosen and nurtured by philanthropic foundations. When it is recalled that one of them sponsored a conference on the economic status of the Negro not so long ago and in its summarized findings devoted less than fifty words to such an important —if not the most important—racial economic unit, it seems that the insurance association leader was not without justification in taking the philanthropic interests to task. No doubt Mr. Martin recognized and is grateful for the good that they have done, but like any forwardlooking leader he finds it necessary to cite shortcomings.—*Norfolk Journal and Guide.*

The world is on its ears. No one—even Hitler—knows what it is all about.

Some one shot the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss. He is dead. Twenty years ago some one shot somebody—the name does not matter—and the world went crazy. Woodrow Wilson, who was re-elected President because "he kept us out of war", finally succumbed to the war urge and the pride of American manhood was shot to pieces.

The spokesman for the British Empire says, "It is not our war. We did not shoot Dollfuss, and we do not propose to be dragged in." That is sensible.

America should take the same position.—*Philadelphia Tribune.*

With agitation on for a "New Deal" in Oklahoma politics the Black Dispatch is inclined to go a step further and ask for a "New Deck". All the old cards used in state politics are marked, torn and known before anyone uses them. Truly, black and white, rich and poor, need a new deck of cards with which to operate and play the game of state government.—*The Black Dispatch.*

Newspaper reports from the South tell us that Dixie is being stirred today by a new branch of the Klan. This modern group apes the European "shirt" groups and is known as the American Fascisti. With green shirts as their distinguishing dress the Fascisti have put on a drive for 100,000 Americans of the "100 per cent" type to purge our United States of all radical influence.

In these days one may not laugh lightly at Fascist groups. In addition to providing fine incomes for shirt manufacturers and perhaps enriching a few leaders, the Fascisti may become a real threat to the liberty of Negroes and all whites tinged with the slightest liberalism.—*The New York Amsterdam News.*

During the recent strike of the longshoremen at San Francisco, the officials of the American Federation of Labor asked the Negroes "not to scab" by accepting jobs vacated by the union strikers.

Now the question arises, why ask Negroes not to scab and at the same time deny them membership in the unions? If the American Federation of Labor hopes to induce the Negro not to scab the best expression of good faith of which we know is to admit Negroes to the union as any other worker and after admitting them to give them the same opportunity for work that is given any other member. Once this is done, officials of the American Federation of Labor will have no occasion to ask Negroes "not to scab."—*The St. Louis Argus.*

A new movement is in the offing. It has been proposed that the Negro churches of the United States join in a federation. The proposition should meet with instant and enthusiastic favor and the denominations interested indicated provide for the attendance of those representatives indicated in the call. We must keep tugging away at this thing until Negro churches get closer together.—*Star of Zion.*

Evidence is piling up that there are more communities than the one this paper mentioned, in which public improvements to be made with federal aid are not reaching the already neglected Negro. Something ought to be done about such one-sided public planning.

There never can be a time when a community is well managed in which the spread between wealth and proverty, between education and ignorance, between capital and labor, between the favored and the neglected, is great. The van of an army and rear guard, however loosely tied together, still are inseparable to the point that the one cannot move ahead if the other is held back.

Building a healthy, happy community without helping all in it is impossible, but some cities try it. They should not go unrebuked, especially now when they are getting federal aid. They have taxed their own people and spent the local money for the benefit of some of them, but when they bring in Uncle Sam's money, he can object and should be importuned to object to an unfair distribution of it.—*The Kansas City Call.*

Liberian Natives Tell Their Story

A Letter from Dr. W. M. Morais, Native Leader, to Geneva, Pleading for Aid

Hoffman Station, Cape Palmas
Liberia, 9th May, 1934

Monsieur Henry A. Junod
President B.I.D.I.
12 chemin de la Chevillarde
Geneve (Suisse)

My dear Sir:—

In confirmation of the fact that Mr. Barclay is not desirous of carrying out the reforms recommended by the International Commission of Inquiry, I write the present letter giving you a detailed information of the recent trip made by him through the interior—from Monrovia to Cape Palmas.

Having received the sum of $1500 appropriated for his traveling expense, Mr. Barclay started from Monrovia on Feb. 24 with 80 carriers, 50 soldiers of the Frontier Force constituting his bodyguard and other persons including Mrs. Barclay. Nowithstanding the incessant oppression and tyrannies of sin pitted against them the natives of Liberia as a whole are still united, regarding me usually as their leader; hence, they kept me informed as to the attitude of Mr. Barclay toward them when passing through their country.

The presence of the soldiers was deliberately to intimidate and he, during the conferences held with the natives said he would demolish their country if they chose to favour the League's Plan of Assistance. In his presence the soldiers outraged the natives, pillaging their towns and abusing their liberty; in vain they complained to Mr. Barclay for redress, but rather their appeal brought cumulative affliction which resulted in death to those who sought relief.

Laborers Unpaid

The vehemence and resurrection of forced labour by Mr. Barclay during his recent interior tour cannot be overstated. Over 150 hammock men (to say nothing of numberless carriers multiplied from town to town in proportion to quantity of luggage increased by extorted presents from the chiefs) have always been utilized from day to day without food and without stipulated compensation for services rendered. Upon their entry into each town the 50 soldiers do as they please maintaining themselves at the expense of the inhabitants and indulging in lootings, plunderings, and all variety of abuses.

At Cape Palmas one chief Keda Do with six men including a civilized Greboman, Henry Merriam, were afflicted and tormented because they supported the regime of Dr. Morais to the effect that the League's Plan must be adopted and put into execution. In order to secure their release they were made to pay a fine of twenty pounds, but three months later they were sent as prisoners to Baawudobo (Interior District No. 5) and now Mr. Barclay declares that unless and until the Chief Adviser arrives in Liberia he will see to it that those individuals are kept in prison; he has ordered the re-arrest of Henry Merriam who, under an "executive bond" executed about the end of March, was released from Baawudobo prison after the death of his brother Rev. Samuel H. Merriam. He has told his interlocutors at Cape Palmas something similar to these words: "No League of Nations, no Chief Adviser, will come to Liberia; I will put forth strenuous efforts in preventing all such encroachment, or die in the attempt."

In August 1932 shortly after my return to Cape Palmas from Europe, Dr. Mackenzie of the League of Nations vituperated one Henry Cooper, charging him with cause of the conflict between Fishtown people and the neighbouring tribe and settling the boundary of their land. Dr. Mackenzie told the interested parties not to infringe the demarcation decided upon, but to work within the radius of the line enclosing each tribal land.

Sentenced to Prison

After the departure of Dr. Mackenzie from Liberia, Mr. Henry Cooper failed to refund the sum of 79 pounds for which he was indebted to Fishtown people for a fraudulent survey undertaken. This year the other tribe infringing the boundary line trespassed on the land of Fishtown people and as a result a war was fought in which the opposite tribe lost by death 28 men. Presently the local authorities caught the alleged perpetrators and imprisoned them in the common jail at Cape Palmas. Now, Mr. Barclay, who has never visited the scene of action nor investigated the matter or the circumstances leading to belligerent occupation, arrived at Cape Palmas on April 17, seized the king of Fishtown and one J. K. Wilson, an accomplished physician of long practice on the Gold Coast and sentenced them fifteen years imprisonment at Bella Yallah, the greatest penitentiary of Liberia, where I was once incarcerated with other political prisoners Both Dr. Wilson and King Sie Wea (a man of very great age) can easily set up an alibi for they were not present at the time of hostilities and they remain ignorant of the circumstances leading to the same; besides the local authorities had never suspected them of the commission of any crime, nor were their names implicated when the matter was brought up and the alleged perpetrators were arrested and imprisoned.

From Bella Yallah I was brought in a hammock, traveling steadily for 54 days; hence Dr. Wilson and King Sie Wea cannot walk that distance, or the fundamental motive may not be dissociated from the desire of walking the man to death.

Dr. Mackenzie Ignored

Mr. Barclay discards the decision of Dr. Mackenzie, a representative of the League of Nations, and now enjoins the confiscation of the land of Fishtown people; also he is determined to cause to be shot to death 28 men from Fishtown without being arraigned, though they have been previously indicted. As Mr. Barclay goes afoot to Monrovia, his command to be executed in Cape Palmas is to seize Chief Wede Uma and his Speaker Ko Jabla, together with Gbawa Hamie and Nyabo, and imprison them at Baawudobo because these four persons have not supported his destructive propaganda of oppression to the natives and of sheer rejection of the League's Plan of Assistance. One of his men tells me secretly that he goes to Sasstown with the determina-

In January, THE CRISIS printed extensive excerpts from a statement by President Edwin Barclay, of Liberia. As this issue goes to press, Harry F. McBride, of the State department, is on his way to Liberia to make observations for the United States government. It is fitting, therefore, that this letter, forwarded to THE CRISIS by the International Office for the Protection of Native Races in Geneva, Switzerland, be publicized in America, expressing as it does, the reactions of the natives themselves

tion to compel Nimley, King of those localities, to surrender to his Government or accept military occupation and complete massacre of his people as the only alternative. It must be borne in mind, however, that Dr. Mackenzie was a member of "pacification commission" sent to Liberia by the League of Nations and that there were many faithful promises made to King Nimley and his people. Since that time Mr. Barclay has threatened and today (yes, at the present moment) is threatening Nimley with unqualified annihilation of his country and people.

Should the League of Nations fail and should His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom fail to deliver the poor oppressed, helpless natives from under the yoke of the imperialist Government of Liberia then let the whole world imagine what their ultimate condition might be.

Of Dr. Morais who represents the interest of the entire native population of Liberia and who spent in Europe a period of time longer than twelve months going from Geneva to London and from London to Geneva, vociferating in the ears of the world the significance of the International Commission of Inquiry to Liberia from the point of view of the natives, it may be stated without fear of controversy that he stands isolated, even a target and the American Liberians desire to put an end to his life; but much is laid to the credit of the good people in Europe and America who are striving with him day and night and with his people.

O Lord! will that Civilization and Christendom, the good people in Europe and in America, come hastily, immediately, quickly and speedily to the deliverance of the natives of this country from under the yoke of the imperialist Government of Liberia.

Yours very truly
W. M. MORAIS.

P. S.—This is the question that we always ask:

Will there be no redress from the League of Nations and from His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for all the reprisals exercised by the Liberian Government against the poor, helpless underdogs—the Natives of Liberia? We are dying daily.

BABY DIETS

Mrs. Josephine Schuyler, who has reared her three-year-old daughter, Philippa, on a raw diet from birth, will have an interesting article on the feeding of children in the October CRISIS.

The Poet's Corner

From The Delta's Unmarked Graves

By Harvey M. Williamson

REVEREND ROSCOE RAINES

"THE meek shall inherit the earth."
With those words I soothed them
And they were meek.
But I knew those words for what they were
And myself for a fool and a liar.

GOSPI ANDERSON

NOW in the quietness of the grave
I begin to understand what happened.
It all occurred because I did not know
The meaning of a word.
When I went to work on Judge Snyder's plantation
He clasped his hands over his fat belly and said,
"I always believe in giving a nigger a square deal."
When settling time came that fall
And I discovered that I owed the Judge a hundred dollars more
Than the proceeds from my twenty bales of cotton,
I accused him of cheating me.
He struck me and I slew him.
I was lynched.
Now I realize this occurred because I did not know
The meaning of the word *square*.

JOHNSTON BEAUREGARD LEE

BEING masters of dissimulation
They never saw the paradox
When they looked at me.
They had played so long with the puppy of duplicity
They were not aware that it had licked their faces.
I was a superb specimen of Nordic aristocracy—
Six feet of arrogant blondness,
Blue-eyed, intelligent,
Progeny of gentlemen of the Confederacy,
Of statesmen and of soldiers.
But I was more than this
And They were blind.
Paying lip-service to the god of racial purity
They were not aware when They looked at me
That even faith had played Them false.

GEORGE WASHINGTON JOHNSON

ON the day I was born
My father went to vote.
For his good citizenship
He was horsewhipped.
And so, with bitter irony,
He named me for him
Who was first in the hearts of his countrymen.

Ghost Love

By William A. Di Cicco

GHOST of a mountain
And ghost of a moon;
Night birds sink droopingly
Over the dune.

Clouds drifting hazily
Stars blurring through;
Darkness come close to me—
Darkness and you.

Mist on the water
And mist in the sky;
Netted with silver
The waves ripple by.

Ghost of a love
Lit with dead stars.
You have your memories
I have my scars.

Song

By Jonathan Henderson Brooks

LISTEN, black boy,
Do you want joy?
Stars in the night-sky
For you to walk by;
Look up; dream high.

Day is unkind to you;
But night has a mind to you;
Night is not blind to you . . .
With all your might, boy,
Trust the good night;
Things will come right.

With night beside you,
Her stars to guide you;
Hope to uphold you;
Love to enfold you,
If you keep striving,
You'll be arriving . . .

Cling to the night, boy,
With all your might, boy,—
Cling to your joy!

Discovery

By A. L. Perkins

HE was my Master
And with his thundering voice,
Cruel taunts and stinging lash,
He kept my eyes down cast
In mortal fear of him.
And then one day
Something like a quiver
In the blustering voice of him
Made me dare to look up;
And behold! I saw in the face
Of my well-armed, puny Master
A cringing fear of me—
A staggering, greater fear of me
Than I e'er felt of him.

Boycott

By Vere E. Johns

(*Continued from page 258*)

night, they began with them on Monday morning and bade them goodnight on Saturday evening. People began more and more to "stay out of Blumstein's." Eight weeks passed and the League was busy preparing for a monster demonstration parade and mass meeting when Blumstein called for a conference. The leaders met him and after listening to his tale of woe, they told him the position was still the same, they had not receded an inch. Blumstein asked for time, took two days to think it over and then capitulated. An agreement was drawn up satisfactory to both parties, and after the signing of this all present shook hands and parted cordially. For the first time since the inception of the L. N. Blumstein department store one can go in and have a smiling colored face say "May I help you, sir?" or "What will you have, madam?"

Using the Boycott

There are some who have adversely commented on the wisdom of using the boycott weapon in a fight such as this. Their main argument seems to be born of the fear of a reprisal in the form of white people firing all the Negroes who earn a living outside of Harlem. People who are of that opinion evidently imagine that all the white people who employ Negro help are unreasonable. They do not realize that no Negro is hired for love or sentiment, but because it is found that the colored worker can do better work and may be paid a lesser wage. Further, none but the most prejudiced and bigoted person would deny that if all the money is taken out of a community and none put back into it, that community must always remain poverty stricken.

I do not advocate the boycott as a solution for every problem, but in this case I honestly believe it was justified. Harlem's boys languish in prison, Harlem's girls ply their trade on her sidewalks, Harlem's babies starve to death—and all because Harlem will not demand what is due her. There was no malice in this fight, there was never any desire to see one single individual lose a job because of it. Blumstein was asked for colored replacements of white vacancies, if he felt that he could not increase his staff at this time. He has done both.

If the League had said "We don't want Blumstein's store in Harlem, let us keep his patrons out of there and close it up," I should have been strongly opposed to such a high-handed measure. But where a group of people was trying to show a merchant how his business could be possibly enhanced and increased by giving a fair and just representation of employment to the people who kept the doors of his establishment open, his refusal could only mean one thing—that he did not care to have black faces behind his counter.

Such an attitude on the part of any individual or establishment doing business in Harlem must be met with a united and courageous attack. Too long have the Negroes of Harlem been contented to accept the patronizing crumbs that fall from the white man's table. If we help to bake the loaf (and we do) then we are entitled to a fair and square slice of it. If we are forced to take it, then the fault lies not at our door, but at the door of those who deny us the right to live. Those who deplore the boycott method in a case like this are unmindful of their duty to their children and their children's children. They will be looking to us for a legacy of bread and we shall have left them hard stones. If we fight and lose, then we lose, that's all, but we will have the satisfaction of knowing that we did not take things lying down. Well did Heywood Broun, columnist of the *World-Telegram*, say: "the stone gained by demand graces the free man's table better than the bread of benevolence."

A new day has dawned in Harlem, the worm is turning, we are going to be treated like human beings and have our place in the sun, and if it has to be the boycott, it will *be* the boycott. We must borrow the immortal words of Patrick Henry and say "Give us (economic) liberty or give us death!"

Boycott

By George S. Schuyler

(*Continued from page 260*)

Consumers' Cooperation

The brutal fact is that Negroes have slept away their opportunity to establish and maintain businesses in which more qualified Negroes might find employment. They own, for example, only a trifle more than 1/12 of the retail establishments their population calls for in their 15 largest districts. In recent years they have made little or no effort to operate retail businesses outside colored communities even where there would be no opposition. Where their businesses have failed it has not been due to white opposition, but to lack of training, modernization and single-minded application to mercantilism. It is obvious that American whites are not opposed to being served by Negroes.

The penniless meglomaniacs and journalistic chiselers who now torture Aframerican eardrums with vituperative balderdash have overlooked one true and tried method of improving the economic stability of any working class: i.e., consumers' cooperation. For regardless of who staffs the stores in the Negro districts, the consumers will still be robbed by shortchanging, overcharging, scale doctoring, false bottoms, shoddiness, adulteration, chemical weighting and coloring (and poisoning), with nothing to show in the end for their patronage save aches, pains and sales receipts.

Consumers' cooperation, the democratic ownership of neighborhood stores where neighbors sell goods to themselves and divide the profits, is the hope of the consuming masses here and now. Through it they can acquire real economic power. With a neighborhood cooperative grocery for each 500 families, flanked by a cooperative bank, laundry, bakery, restaurant, dry goods store and filling station, working people can win economic stability and influence. The affiliation of these neighborhood cooperatives with wholesale cooperatives can bring the consumers of a city together irrespective of race, color or creed, as equals on a fundamental economic basis. Cooperative consumption fosters cooperative production and distribution, linking urban and rural workers. In this way the common people with common interests can work toward a common goal regardless of the superficialities of color.

Everywhere today progressive workers are turning wearily from the trite old racial, national and religious slogans and controversies toward this scientific mutual aid; this enlightened anarchism pointing to a rational society free alike from parliamentary chicanery and the goose-stepping brutalities of dictatorship. Not by embarking upon futile and disastrous economic civil wars but by intelligent mutual aid in cooperation with white workers can Negroes improve their economic status.

Detroit High School Teacher

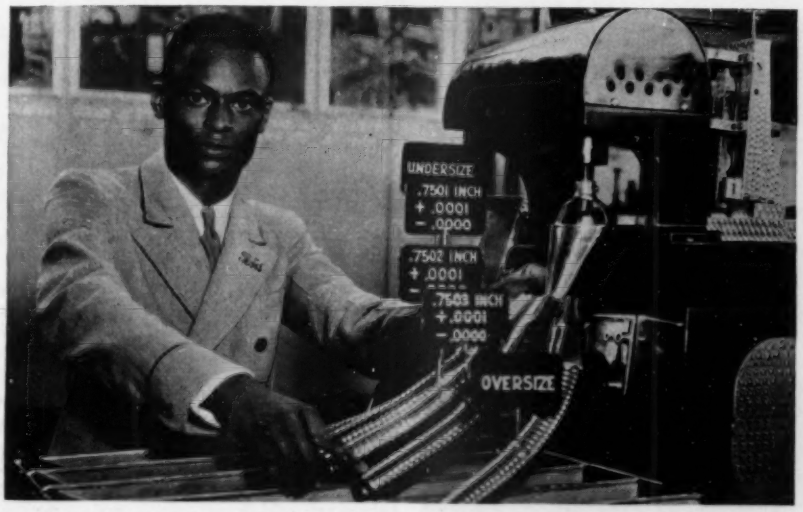
Edward A. Benjamin has been appointed teacher of physical education and health in Miller high school in Detroit, Mich., the first appointment of a colored teacher to the high schools of the city. Miller high school is about eighty-five per cent colored. Mr. Benjamin is a graduate of the University of Michigan, having received his bachelor's degree in physical education in 1931 and his master's degree in public health and hygiene in 1934. He is a member of Sigma Delta Psi, honorary athletic fraternity, and of Alpha Phi Alpha.

Hampton Cuts Nurse Expense

Students in the School of Nursing at Hampton Institute are to find the amount of money needed for their first year's training considerably less than in former years, when they enroll for the fall term which begins on September 20.

The Institute is taking note of the fact that the field in which the trained nurse is operating is not overcrowded. According to a summary of professional services in which Negroes are chiefly engaged, released by the United States Census Bureau, for 1930, there was one teacher for each 218 colored persons; one clergyman for each 475; but only one nurse for 2076 Negroes.

He Thinks in Millionths of an Inch



Claude Harvard and His Machine

DURING the Century of Progress World's fair in Chicago last summer there was some complaint from colored people and their white friends about the absence of a "Negro" exhibit at the fair to blare forth to the world the progress of colored Americans.

When the Century of Progress opened again this year on the shores of Lake Michigan, a purely "Negro" exhibit was still absent (and there was, and is, considerable debate as to whether there should have been such an exhibit), but there is now at least one concrete, unmistakable, but unlabeled bit of evidence of Negro ability.

Claude Harvard, a young man of 23 years, is the evidence. Without any trumpets, headlines, placards, pamphlets or oratory, without any "race" propaganda, he is proving daily to millions of visitors from every corner of the earth the skill and ability of his race.

Young Harvard is in the "Century Room" of Henry Ford's great exposition at this year's fair where measuring machines accurate to one-millionth of an inch, in striking contrast to the crude instruments of a century ago, are on display. He is a student and mechanician, in personal charge of one of the most interesting and intricate of these measuring machines.

The throngs that crowd the broad aisles of the Ford building daily are hardly conscious of his race because of his modesty, his attention to his machine, his courteous and complete explanations of its working and his precise answers to all questions, whether they are asked by Little Johnny of Red Wing, Minn., or a technical engineer from Pittsburgh, Pa.

The fact is that young Harvard helped to develop and build, as a student of the Ford Trade School at Dearborn, Mich., the marvel of mechanical accuracy that is in his charge at the Ford exhibit.

Born in Dublin, Georgia, a small town about 50 miles southeast of Macon, Harvard was left fatherless at the age of two years. To get money to rear and educate the boy, his mother went into domestic service, first for private families in Atlanta and later in Detroit.

In the latter city Mrs. Harvard learned of the Ford Trade School and entered Claude when he was 15 years old. During the eight years since, he has become one of the school's outstanding students, one of a small group selected to represent Mr. Ford's educational ideas in Chicago.

Moreover, it is especially significant that young Harvard is in the "Century Room" portion of the Ford show. This particular section of the exhibit was assembled under the personal direction of Henry Ford himself.

Admitted to A.B.C. Membership

The Houston **Informer,** of which J. Alston Atkins is editor, is the latest Negro newspaper to be admitted to membership in the Audit Bureau of Circulations. The other members are: Dallas **Express,** Kansas City (Mo.) **Call,** Philadelphia **Tribune,** Baltimore **Afro-American,** Norfolk **Journal and Guide,** and New York **Amsterdam News.** A.B.C. membership is highly regarded by publishers since it gives automatic standing with advertisers, assuring them of actual net paid circulation, determined by A.B.C. accountants.

Student Conference

(*Continued from page 266*)

encouraged to participate actively in community affairs, especially in the work of the church and political organizations, for in this way they would be making definite contributions in proportionate measures to their training and viewpoint. Their cooperation is needed by organized agencies in the community which, by their program, are seeking to improve the condition of the social group. The attitude of cooperation was construed as being more effective than the prevalent one of detached, aloof criticism and indifference.

Students Condemn War

"The conference went on record as condemning war and the instrumentalities of war as a means to settling international controversies, with a pledge to work for international fellowship and good will by education for peace and by an effort to obtain new types of leaders.

"Resolutions and letters were sent to governmental authorities protesting the deplorable conditions suffered by Negro industrial and agricultural workers and the inadequate relief given indigent persons in the South, which conditions have been aggravated by the New Deal program.

"In regard to the various solutions to the problem of race it was concluded that the problem could be solved by no one means, but it would require a combination of economic stability, political power, and inter-racial cooperation. No one can be effective alone.

"The students expressed themselves in believing the benefits of the Negro folkways in speech, music, and dance should be preserved through a conscious effort on the part of Negroes themselves.

"Higher educational standards and better equipment can be a reality for Negroes in segregated schools only when the race realizes the need for them and contributes its share toward the support of its schools. It is only in this way that the schools will be free from the domination and control of 'interests' and prepare young men and women for efficient leadership.

"Active and unrelenting support was pledged to the N.A.A.C.P. in pushing the fight for the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. A committee was appointed to enlist the cooperation of other young people's organizations in sending letters, resolutions, and petitions to members of Congress urging the passage of this very necessary legislation."

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

White Primaries

Despite the rulings of the United States supreme court in test cases carried up by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from El Paso, Tex., that colored voters could not be barred, constitutionally, from voting in the Democratic primaries, new barriers against these voters were erected this spring and summer in several southern states, notably Texas.

Colored voters in Pensacola, Fla., won a decision from the supreme court of that state late in 1933 declaring a bar against them unconstitutional. In spite of that very recent decision, the attorney general ruled in May that the state Democratic committee could restrict the primary to white persons. The Pensacola Colored Voters' League and the N.A.A.C.P. branch, with the assistance of the national office, took the ruling to court, but suffered an adverse decision before Federal Judge Long. They have filed notice of an appeal.

Alabama cities, especially Montgomery, prevented many Negroes from registering and voting, but no formal action was taken by them to secure their rights. The Birmingham branch offered its assistance to such Montgomery citizens as wished to fight.

It is in Texas that the real battle has been waged, for the colored Texans are determined to exercise their franchise. In open defiance of the two supreme court decisions, rendered in cases arising in his own state, the attorney general of Texas ruled this spring that the summer primaries would be for whites only.

In New York, the N.A.A.C.P. headquarters telegraphed and wrote Chairman James A. Farley of the Democratic National Committee asking him to instruct the state committees that the barring of qualified Negro voters was unconstitutional. Having no answer from him, the association telegraphed Attorney General Homer S. Cummings asking the assistance of the United States Department of Justice in Texas.

Without interference from Washington, Texas election officials proceeded, on primary day, to bar most Negroes from the polls. Some few were permitted to vote. In El Paso, Dr. L. A. Nixon and a druggist friend who accompanied him were the only colored men who voted.

In Waco, Tex. election officials admitted after the primary that the few Negroes they allowed to vote displayed more intelligence in voting than the whites.

William A. McClain
Cincinnati Radio Speaker

"It is a shame to have to admit it," said an official, "but it is the truth."

The N.A.A.C.P. has announced that the fight against the white primary system will be pressed with renewed vigor. It has collected twelve affidavits from El Paso voters who were barred; four from Austin; four from Beaumont; two from Waco; and two from Harris county; and has forwarded these to Joseph B. Keenan, assistant U. S. attorney general in Washington. More affidavits are being received daily.

Complete support of the N.A.A.C.P. fight from Texans is pledged in a letter to Walter White by R. D. Evans, an attorney of Waco, who says:

"As I see this fight after twenty years, we must now fall in behind your powerful organization . . . I am asking all Texas to form organizations and contribute to this one association for complete relief."

Anti-Lynching Bill

No sooner had the seventy-third congress adjourned without taking action on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, than supporters of the measure, including Senators Robert F. Wagner and Edward P. Costigan, began to lay plans for introduction of it in the next congress in January.

All N.A.A.C.P. branches are asked to keep the discussion of the bill alive and to bring it before any conferences or conventions which may be meeting nationally or locally. Resolutions should be passed and sent to President Roosevelt and Senators Costigan and Wagner urging action at the next session. Already the total of lynchings for 1934 is more (to August 15) than that of 1933. The situation has *not* improved; the states are *not* taking any vigorous action against mobs; the federal government must pass legislation which will give it the power to act.

The N.A.A.C.P. urges colored voters generally to question all candidates in the fall elections upon their attitude toward a federal anti-lynching bill. No candidate can pose as a "friend" of colored people who will not work to blot out lynching. All colored organizations are urged, also, to carry the message about lynching to as many white groups as can be reached so that they can send resolutions and protests to Washington.

Monthly Radio Programs

The Cincinnati branch received an unusual opportunity in having a forty-five minute monthly radio period over Station WKRC, through the courtesy of James E. Lightfield. On Sunday, July 29, the branch presented its first radio program with William A. McClain, a graduate of Wittenberg college, as speaker. His subject was "Our Scroll of Destiny."

Mr. McClain, after a series of preliminary contests won the Northern Oratorical contest at Northwestern University, winning over representatives from various states. Mr. McClain is the first Negro to win the state and national contest, which is the oldest intercollegiate oratorical contest in America, having been started sixty years ago. It is the first time in sixteen years that the winner has represented the state of Ohio.

A musical program was presented under the direction of Artie Matthews of the Cosmopolitan School of Music. The next radio program will be presented Sunday, August 26 at 11:00 A.M. with W. L. Anderson as speaker. Mr. Anderson will open a series of discussions dealing with interracial understanding to be presented by the branch. The musical program will be presented by Noah Ryder, chorister of Mt. Zion M. E. church.

The committee sponsoring the series of radio programs is composed of W. N. Lovelace, Boyd W. Overton, James T. Whitney, William M. Springer, T. M. Berry, Mesdames Mary K. Weatherly, Helen Walker King, Lillian Foster and Misses Laura Fife, Leola Townsend, and Georgia Beasley.

Thumbs Down on Cochran

The branches in Missouri, led by St. Louis, took the field against Congressman John J. Cochran of St. Louis, who was seeking the nomination, in the Democratic primary August 7, for United States senator. Misouri Negroes were wrathy over Congressman Cochran's letter to Robert P. Watts, secretary of the St. Louis branch, in which Cochran stated he thought Congressman Oscar DePriest was wrong in contending for Negroes to be served in the House restaurant in Washington and that he (Cochran) thought Negroes ought to eat in the "nice" restaurant in the basement where the employes eat. Missourians felt that a man who thought they ought to eat in a basement was no man to represent them in the senate. Result: Nomination was won by Judge Harry S. Truman of Kansas City, who ran nearly 50,000 ahead of Cochran.

Also in the bad graces of Missouri voters is Senator Roscoe Patterson, running for re-election against the new nominee, Judge Truman. Missourians, who have memories much like the mules for which their state is famous, have not forgotten that Senator Patterson in 1930 (thinking he was far from election time) wrote many a curt letter to his Negro constituents when they asked him not to vote to confirm Judge John J. Parker for appointment to the U. S. supreme court. He did vote for Parker and now the ghost of the spring of 1930 rises to plague him.

Jim Crow for Whites

A new twist to race discrimination was uncovered by the N.A.A.C.P. when it investigated the policy of the Colombian Line in selling steamship passage to and from Haiti. The two newest ships of the line, the "Haiti" and the "Colombia" (both built with funds advanced by the U. S. Shipping Board) have first class and tourist accommodations. The company officials *insist* on white people using first class at the higher fare and use every trick to keep all colored people in tourist class. The company has denied this officially, but the N.A.A.C.P. has sent white people to inquire about passage and the messengers have been told flatly that whites *will have* to buy first class as "we reserve tourist for our colored passengers." Being white costs money if you ride Colombian ships.

"Sweet Land of Liberty"

A new pamphlet with the above title has just been printed by the N.A.A.C.P. It is a compressed history of the work of the association classified under fields of endeavor rather than individual cases. Quantity lots may be ordered by branches or other organizations at cost: 75 cents a hundred, including postage.

Honor Roll Branches

The following branches attained the honor roll for 1934 by paying their year's apportionment in full on or before the date of the annual conference in Oklahoma City:

Alabama: Birmingham; **California**: Pasadena, Santa Monica; **Delaware**: Wilmington; **District of Columbia**: Washington; **Georgia**; Albany, Atlanta, Savannah; **Illinois**: Rockford; **Indiana**: French Lick, Gary, South Bend; **Iowa**: Ames; **Kansas**: Newton; **Louisiana**: Jennings, Baton Rouge; **Michigan**: Grand Rapids; **Missouri**: St. Louis, Springfield; **New Jersey**: Princeton; **New York**: Jamaica, Rochester; **North Carolina**: Durham, High Point; **Ohio**: Cincinnati; **Oklahoma** Boley, Oklahoma City; **Pennsylvania**: Aliquippa, Chester, Fayette County, Pittsburgh, Willow Grove, Williamsport, Allegheny Valley, Reading; **Tennessee**: Memphis; **Texas**: Galveston, San Antonio; **Virginia**: Roanoke.

The largest amount was paid in by the District of Columbia branch: $1,383.50.

Branch Notes

Eugene Gash, pianist and active member of the **Denver, Colo.** branch, was tendered a testimonial concert in Duluth, Minn. August 6, Henry Williams, Crisis agent in Duluth and well known musician in the city, appeared on the program.

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The **Durham, N. C.** branch will launch a fall membership campaign under the direction of M. H. Thompson as soon as the vacation season is over. Dr. J. N. Mills is president and John L. Holloway secretary.

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Drumright, Okla. branch officers are investigating the arrest of one Pete Hawkins on a charge of murdering a colored merchant. At the time of the crime, it was said to have been committed by a white man, but Hawkins, colored, was arrested. A "confession" was said to have been secured through a beating. C. C. McIntosh, branch president, and Jack E. Shields, secretary, have placed the matter before Roscoe Dunjee, president of the state conference of branches.

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At the request of the **Louisville, Ky.** branch, a group of young women assisted in the entertainment of the Central Regional Association of Club Women which met there in July, by singing for the evening sessions. The singers: Misses Margaret and Victoria Warley, Thelma and Hilda Hall, Nannie Mason, Elizabeth Bright, Ruth Wisdom, Edith Wilson, Juanita Offutt, May Thomas and Mariana Jackson. Miss Yolande Barnett was the accompanist. Mrs. Maud Roberts George of Chicago, assisted by Miss Blanche Grossen of Indianapolis, directed the girls. Mrs. Bessie Etherly is secretary of the branch.

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For several months the **Decatur, Ill.** branch has been combatting the establishment of a separate Negro beach and bathhouse and a separate Negro kindergarten. After numerous conferences with Mayor Smith, the mayor ordered all citizens to be treated alike on the beach. The branch charged that some colored people who wanted

My Country, 'Tis of Thee Sweet Land of Liberty—

This is a picture of what happens in America—*and no other place on earth!* Here is the U. S. rope and faggot record to date:

Lynchings since January 1:

14

●

Lynchings during same period last year:

12

●

Total lynchings since 1882:

5,065

●

(Figures as of August 15)

You can help stamp out lynch law by joining the forces who are campaigning for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law by the next congress. Write the N.A.A.C.P. for information: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

to operate a concession on the beach persuaded park officials to repair an old tool house, add lockers to it and open it as a "Negro" bathhouse. The lack of patronage at the old tool house forced the colored operators to give up the proposition. The fight against the kindergarten is still in progress. The branch charges also that certain colored people who wish to make money are sponsoring the idea of separation. Mrs. Marie Gray Baker is secretary of the branch and L. J. Winston is president.

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Miss Justina Spencer and C. W. Pendleton were presented first and second prizes respectively for bringing in the greatest number of members in the spring campaign of the **Roanoke, Va.** branch. The ceremony was held July 15 at the Ebenezer A.M.E. church, Miss Spencer's prize being a silver vase and Mr. Pendleton's a tie pin. Principal speakers of the occasion were Dean Charles H. Houston and John P. Davis of Washington. The Roanoke branch is only fourteen months old, but has carried forward its work effectively with a special speakers committee consisting of Messrs. Jacob L. Reid, Alfred Hunter, George A. Thornton, C. C. Williams, and J. A. Reynolds; and the Misses Justina Spencer and Georgia Hairston, and Mrs. Millie B. Paxton, who directed the membership campaign. This committee has carried the message of the N.A.A.C.P. into the surrounding rural areas with the result that the branch has members from Roanoke, Montgomery, Pulaski, Floyd and Pittsylvania counties as well as from the city. The branch plans to start and maintain a fight for a county high school for Negro children as there is none in any of the counties named above. Because of the cost of tuition in more distant areas, most rural children have to halt their education at the seventh grade. J. A. Reynolds is president of the branch.

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The newly organized Northern California Council of N. A. A. C. P. branches met in San Mateo, July 26.

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Miss Ruth Baker, contralto, was presented in recital by the **Berkshire** branch in Pittsfield, Mass. Thursday, August 9. Miss Baker is a graduate of Pittsfield schools, Oberlin college and Oberlin conservatory of music. She will be instructor of music at Tillotson college, Austin, Tex., this year.

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Dean William Pickens greeted the **Beloit, Wis.** branch August 6 upon the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of its organization. A full anniversary program including Dean Picken's address was heard by a large crowd. The branch gave a picnic at Edgewater Park, July 28.

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Political candidates of every party were invited to speak at an open meeting of the **Alameda county** (Calif.) branch August 13 in Oakland.

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A pageant, "The Coronation of a Queen," for the benefit of the **Springfield, Ill.** branch, was presented July 26 before a large audience by a cast of nearly one hundred children.

Miss LaVata Duncan, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Amos Duncan, 1201 East Monroe Street, was crowned queen by Richard Washington, who played the role of high bishop.

The children were attired in costumes of many nations, each group portraying different national characterizations by their songs and dances.

Toussaint Anderson and Vernon Ross gave vocal numbers. Miss Helen Mason, Miss Clara Jackson and Mrs. Hazel Scott directed the pageant.

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The **Knoxville, Tenn.** branch aided in the celebration of Emancipation day in that city August 8. Colored people in East Tennessee and southern North Carolina were freed five months before slaves elsewhere in the country, according to state records.

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Dr. Charles W. Dorsey, president of the **Philadelphia, Pa.** branch, was elected president of the National Negro Dental Association at the session in Nashville, Tenn.

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A new branch was organized formally August 1 in **Dover, O.** with sixty-two charter members.

The following officers were elected: Pres., Frank L. Sephus; vice-president, B. F. Woods; recording secretary; C. O. McCockran, corresponding secretary; George C. Thomas; treasurer, Thomas Latter.

Besides the officers the following are members of the executive committee: B. H. Woods, David Favors, Buford Ray, O. W. Willis, Griffin Malone, D. F. Carter, W. Melvin Chandler and Major G. Hueston.

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Since the first of the year the national office in New York has received seventy inquiries from persons in all parts of the country about the method of organizing branches; sixteen new branches have been formed; three have been re-organized; and ten are in process of formation.

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Plans for the entertainment of the twenty-sixth annual conference next June are being made already by the **St. Louis, Mo.** branch under the leadership of H. D. Espey, president; Sidney Redmond, chairman of the executive committee; and Robert P. Watts, secretary.

Penny-a-Head Fund

Contributions to the N.A.A.C.P. Penny-a-head Fund from April 15 to June 15 inclusive: *Alabama:* Chesterfield Club, Selma, Alabama: $5.00; Normal, Alabama, A. & M. College: $2.44; *Arkansas:* Little Rock Branch: $2.01; *California:* San Francisco Branch: $6.25; R. A. Wagner, Redlands, California: $1.00; Ocean View Lodge No. 15, K. of P. Ocean Park, California: $2.40; *Florida:* Florida Normal and Industrial Institute, St. Augustine: $2.00; *Georgia:* Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School: $4.19, Georgia Normal and Agricultural College, Albany: $1.69, Women Workers of Episcopal Church, Atlanta, $2.00; *Illinois:* E. St. Louis Branch: $2.00, Springfield Branch: $12.38, Western Star Lodge No. 87, F. & A. M., La Grange: 68c; *Indiana:* South Bend Branch: $13.15, Logansport, Ind. Jr. Division: $5.00, Marion, Ind. Jr. Division: $7.20, Kokomo, Ind. Branch: $1.14; *Kansas:* Alpha Rho Chapter, A.K.A. Sorority, Wichita (Coll.); $20.76. Atchison Branch: $15.00; *Kentucky:* Louisville Branch: $4.00; *Louisiana:* Monroe Branch: $14.24; *Massachusetts:* Springfield, Mass. Branch: $59.58, Dr. William W. Nelson, New Bedford: $2.50; *Michigan:* Detroit Branch: $32.26, In as Much Circle of Kings Daughters, Detroit: $4.60; *Missouri:* Springfield Branch: $5.00, Springfield Branch: $1.73; *New Jersey:* Princeton Branch: $5.00, Bethel Chapel, Plainfield: $1.25; Women's Success Club, Woodbury: $1.00, Atlantic City, N. J., Collection (C. M. Cain): $2.34, Plainfield Branch: $51.78, Vance Wilson Lodge, IBPOEW, Cape May: $2.10; *New York:* Brooklyn, Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church; $8.00, Rochester Branch: $30.00, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, N. Y. C.: $10.00, Ithaca Branch: $8.44; *North Carolina:* Charlotte Branch: $17.72, Southern Pines Branch: $2.35; *Ohio:* St. Clairsville Branch: 77c, Excelsior Lodge, No. 29189, Cleveland: $2.28; *Oklahoma:* Booker T. Washington High School, Enid: $2.00; *Pennsylvania:* Pittsburgh Branch: $18.53, Ohio Valley Branch: $2.80; *Tennessee:* Johnson City Schools (by James W. Johnson): $2.20; *Texas:* Tillotson College, Austin: $1.50, San Antonio Branch: $3.90; *Virginia:* Petersburg Branch: $16.58; *Washington:* Seattle, Wash. Branch: $21.50, Tacoma Branch: $5.67; *West Virginia:* Charleston Branch: $80.

CHILDREN

A section of the October number will be devoted to children as has been the custom of THE CRISIS for many years. Photographs and necessary information should reach the CRISIS office not later than September 1.

Russian Theatre

(*Continued from page 270*)

longer postponed. But my greatest alarm is that not only is theatre in America being hurt by this delayed contribution, but the Negro himself is suffering from it.

Advice to America

Two years with the Russian theatre has taught me above all the real significance of theatre in its influence upon the culture of a people. Watching theatre, with a definite purpose given it by government censorship, and an unlimited artistic scope because of government subsidy, inject healthful and constructive ideas into the minds of a society, makes one shudder to think what theatre has been doing to the minds of American society for the past several generations, to say nothing of what it has not done. Is one terribly amiss, then, in labeling American theatre as it is today a calamity? I think not. But let me be constructive by suggesting that all who share with me a deep love and true for theatre, turn their eyes again to the Negro, transfuse his blood of artistic expressiveness into the veins of our dying American theatre. My people are simple—would they were simpler—they have much to give. And to the Negro: Snap off your chains of inhibitions. Leave Ibsen's "Doll House" for awhile. Do "No Count Boy" and "The Chipwoman's Fortune" over and over again until we have developed a love for our own simplicity. Develop a theatre consciousness and we'll get perspective on ourselves that laughing America doesn't want only because it doesn't know what it is missing. And once we get perspective we might even save not only American theatre, but ourselves.

Seek Medal for Hero

Citizens of Hope, Ark., are seeking a Carnegie medal for Leroy Henry, June graduate of the Henry Clay Yerger High School, who rescued his classmate, John Brooks Clark, when the latter sank to the bottom of Red Lake during a junior-senior outing the day before graduation.

NRA and the Negro

(*Continued from page 263*)

is no question that the rates in codes have greatly narrowed the differentials which existed before codes. In many industries a differential of from 20 per cent to 50 per cent and even more, has been replaced by a code differential of less than 10 per cent. The great bulk of the differentials are in the vicinity of 10 per cent, though some are conspicuously larger.

We have had to make a number of exemptions or allowances below the minimum for firms employing Negro workers exclusively, if these firms were to continue to exist in codified industries. These recommendations have come after examination by Negro experts and white experts. While Negro workers are most efficient in so many of the occupations in which they are finding a place for themselves, it still remains true, especially in the South, that many of them found a place for themselves before the era of codes by accepting wages less than those for which white workers were willing to work. We hear persistent rumblings and complaints that the minimum wages in codified industries are serving to displace colored workers by whites because, under the social and economic conditions prevailing in the South, public opinion makes it necessary for employers to take on unemployed white workers for jobs formerly performed by colored workers at lower wages.

I still do not know the answer from a practical and immediate point of view to the question as to whether it would be to the interest of the colored workers to eliminate all differentials at once. My honest judgment as a result of one year's work with the NRA is that at present it would be a great mistake from the industrial and the social point of view and that it would do harm to the economic life of the nation, that it would bankrupt local communities, that it would lessen national income, and would be a disservice to the colored workers.

More About Graduates

Twenty-six were graduated from LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn., May 29, 1934, seventeen women and three men receiving the B. A., and five men and one woman receiving the B. S. The Reverend Alfred G. Walton, pastor of the First Congregational church, Springfield, Mass., was commencement speaker and the Reverend Robert W. Brooks, Washington, D. C., delivered the baccalaureate address. Enrollment for the year totaled 289.

Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., had an enrollment of 295. Fifteen were awarded the A. B., ten the B. S., one B. S. in home economics and one B. Th. Miss Elizabeth O. Manley of Hertford, N. C. was the ranking student.

EXTRA MONEY FOR Boys and Girls

Boys and girls can make that extra money to buy the extra things they want by selling THE CRISIS.

Begin now to earn Christmas money. Easy, pleasant work which can be done in spare time. Almost every boy knows at least five or ten people to whom he can sell a copy of THE CRISIS each month. Good profit for live workers.

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Circulation Manager

THE CRISIS

69 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y.

ADVERTISING PAGES REMOVED

NEW DEAL FOR LEVEE WORKERS

In 1932, the N.A.A.C.P. investigated contractors' labor camps on the Mississippi levees from Southern Missouri to New Orleans on both sides of the river and found:

1. **Thirty thousand Negro workers being paid a "book" wage of ten cents an hour and actual wages of about five cents an hour.**
2. **Twelve to sixteen hours a day's work, seven days a week.**
3. **Pay days as far apart as four months.**
4. **Unsanitary camps, unscreened and unfloored tents.**
5. **Camp commissary stores with prices 20 to 400 per cent higher, where workers were forced to trade.**
6. **Brutality toward workers.**

Early in July, 1934 another tour of this region showed:

1. **Wages of 40 cents an hour.**
2. **A 30-hour week.**
3. **Pay days every week.**
4. **Clean camps, sanitary tents.**
5. **Camp commissary stores abolished.**
6. **Brutality at the minimum.**

These conditions for workers were improved solely because of the investigation and protest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Hard struggles are ahead. The Negro worker must secure a square deal under the whole Recovery program. Only through organization, through a strong organzation like the N.A.A.C.P., which has been fighting the Negro's battle for 25 years, can barriers be battered down and opportunties secured.

Join the local branch in your city or write directly to the New York office for literature, membership blanks or information on how to start a branch.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE **NEW YORK, N. Y.**